

HUNGARY

JUMPING THE TARGETS IN THE COUNTRY THAT WAS

7. General Discussion
from R.C.H.

KEEPING THE TARGETS IN THE COUNTRY THAT WAS.

Being the social itinerary of a flight to the Isles of Song.

The City Between the Bridges
(Venice of the North)

BUZZING THE GOLDEN WINDOMS.

1000

1000

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

INTEROFFICE MEMO

FROM: David Bruce
TO: Colonel Donovan
SUBJECT:

DATE February 19, 1962

SECRET

I should like to discuss with you sometime whether we should take any steps toward notifying Herschel Johnson of Doctor Hopper's appointment to Sweden. We have already notified Mr. Whitney in London that Hopper will be our chief representative in Sweden.
Notifying Johnson would present certain difficulties

DBA

David Bruce

December 10, 1941

Dr. James B. Conant
President, Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Conant:

Professor Bruce Hopper has
very kindly consented to perform a mission
for this office, subject to your approval.
He will explain the details to you. I do hope
you will find it possible and convenient to
permit him to do this.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan

HOPPER, BRUCE C

12-12-41

STANDARD FORM NO. 14
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 24, 1933

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

FROM _____

BUREAU _____

CHG. APPROPRIATION _____

C O P Y NIGHT LETTER
DECEMBER 12, 1941

PROFESSOR BRUCE CAMPBELL HOPPER
55 BRATTLE STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES SUCH THAT WE SUGGEST YOU NOT DISCUSS
MATTER WITH CONANT BUT CONTINUE PRESENT WORK PENDING
FURTHER COMMUNICATION FROM US REGARDS

DAVID BRUCE

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 article 2 of the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact, April 13, 1901,
 has been observed by Japan since June 22, 1941,
 and by Russia since December 7. That article
 is worded if one party the object of
military action on the part of one or more powers,
 the other party will observe neutrality throughout
 the whole duration

Therefore, if we were to ask the Russians
 about our possible use of air bases in the Far East they
 could point to this article which thus gives assurance
 to us in this respect.

- 2) The tentative guess is that the Bolsheviks will
- A) Hold in the west, if they can, and gain
 a breathing space for the winter.
 - B) Resume Article 2 of the Neutrality Pact with
 Japan until the moment when ~~our~~ self-interest
 dictates action.

Russ Hopper

V. Conclusion.

Considering these factors, and as of today, December 10, I should say:

1) The Bolsheviks are unlikely to entertain any Nazi peace offer that involved cession of Russian territory (e.g. Ukraine).

2) On the other hand they ~~can~~ might accept terms which included Nazi evacuation of Russian soil, and no indemnities.

3) In their long range view this war is for the redemption of the earth. During the struggle the friend of yesterday may be the foe of tomorrow, and vice versa. The one inevitable they expect to unfold in world revolution, in which the Soviet Union will win.

As history is that and they can change sides even during battle (e.g. Tsar Peter III, 1762, who switched ~~in~~ some of his troops from the Austrian to the Prussian side).

4) Therefore, it seems unlikely that the Bolsheviks will join us against Japan, at least not immediately. They expect Japan to be overtaken by revolution. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that

General Wavell's army in North Syria, some 40,000 men, is evidently ready to go to the Caucasus, or to Turkey. The situation demands careful watching, and probably operations will be undertaken under leave-mind.

IP World Revolution

A final factor is world revolution which the Bolsheviks can not abandon. Their strength has been augmented by the conscious and unconscious support of the entire laboring world. If Japan becomes expanded, and is knocked out, the war, revolution there would be inevitable, the Japanese version of socialism.

It must be remembered that if the Red Army holds without further retreats, the Soviet Union will gain enormous prestige. The world should go to the Russian people. But most likely the socialist system will gain the Ruler for with the fighting and the armament capacity of Russia.

C. Turkey.

Turkey is the nut in the cracks, and must be influenced by whatever power control the Straits and the Caucasus. Thus far, and despite the Nazi-Turkish Trade Agreement, the Turks have insisted upon keeping their pledge to send all their claims on to the British.

Undoubtedly, the Germans have a plan to increase their pressure, and sweeten the bait. One suggestion is that Italy would return the Dodecanese Isles, Mussolini to get his revenge and his Roman triumph in Egypt. Another is that if the British fleet is driven from the Eastern Mediterranean, and Egypt lost, the Nazis might win over Turkish army elements by reviving the Pan-Turanian dream, - Turkey to become the nucleus of a Turkish-speaking area including Russia and Persia, Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan. The point to this is that the Nazis could miserably swing Turkey into the Axis by playing on old dreams, in event of British defeat in Egypt.

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December 7. And the French fleet assumes increased significance.

B. The Libyan Campaign.

Should it be the German intention to utilize the French bases of Oran and Bizerte as a preliminary to effective reinforcement of Axis forces in Libya the situation might suddenly become critical.

The Italian fleet, especially the submarines with German personnel, could conceivably ~~drive~~ cut the British lines of communication completely, thus endangering Egypt and the Suez Canal. It would be interesting to know how much the British Command, in making the Libyan attack, was influenced by mass pressure on the Government for opening a new front to relieve the pressure on Russia.

III. Other Factors.

A. The German Angle.

The Ribbentrop policy of anti-communist "crusade" has evidently failed. The Berlin meeting produced no effective results because of the reluctance of Vichy France, Switzerland, Denmark, etc. to collaborate.

Contrary: The Goering policy (supported by various army generals) of opposition to the Russian Campaign has been somewhat justified by events. Evidence of Goering's favor with Hitler is indicated by the fact that it was he, (not Ribbentrop) who chose to confer with Petain.

It is not known here, as yet, whether Goering obtained the right to use the bases of France and Belgium. It is considered quite unlikely that the French fleet will collaborate; it most likely would go to Dunkirk to defend herself. French interests (General W. Georges-Picot, Counselor of the French Embassy here, an able professional person). The Vichy position has greatly improved since

8. Factors against Russian Acceptance:

- 1) Inability of the Bolsheviks to accede to Nazi program for Ukraine (the West-Slav Bloc, as the buffer state between Turkey and Slav, which is an extension of the Hoffmann Plan), and inability to supply enough oil if Soviet industries and ~~factories~~ factories are to operate.
- 2) Bolshevik fear of the dissolution of U.S.S.R. into its component national parts, attendant upon defeat, or unfavorable armistice. (separation of Ukraine, Georgia, Central Asia, as well as the Baltic areas).
- 3) Factor of Finland (loss of Eastern Karelia would cut Russia off from the ice-free port of Murmansk).
- 4) The intense bitterness of the Third Reichsmann War; it is doubtful if even Stalin could swing ~~the~~ the people back to an acceptance of imposed Nazi terms, short of defeat in the field.
- 5) The personal hate between Stalin & Hitler.

To School Omen.
from A.C.H.

Possibility of Russia's Defection.

Principle

I. Reasons for the announcement by the Nazis of abandonment of attempts to capture Moscow this winter.

Factors: 1) Actual cold.

2) High casualties of officers

3) Land mines

4) In street to street fighting the Russians are masters (experience of the Civil War).

5) Russian ski troops. (training since August, 1941)

II. Possibility of a German offer to cease hostilities in the East.

A. Factors favorable to Russian acceptance:

1) Need for breathing space to reestablish industries in the Urals; and to reform new armies east of the Urals.

2) Bolshevik confidence in their "Boring within" process, e.g. 1918 in Germany, for which they claim a share in the victory.

3) Bolshevik confidence in the inevitability of world revolution.

*Finley
Shopper*

Colonel Owens:

This stuff is dented off, ad lib, without
thinking I thought. I am unable to piece together
the various points you made, and so focused
on the possibility of Russia's defection.

A.C.H.

of the Middle East. For Washington a recognition, even in this case, of the demands people must make in moving out for Turkey and Central Asia, is much more an object of policy than of thinking, as the majority of the people in the northern part of that territory have now turned out to be. In other words, an interplay of race, language and religion in this area of the world is a subject for study of military and political potentialities.

TO: Colonel William J. Donovan

November 14, 1944

FROM: Ralph Bard

SUBJECT: Caucasasia

One item which is illustrated by this map is that one of the mainstays the Nazis can offer the Turks is the revival of the Pan-Turanian movement of uniting all Turkish speaking people of the Middle East under the leadership of modern Turkey to make a new empire that would subscribe in many ways to what the Germans call "Volkstum". While it is true that the Balkan area was at one time under Persian domination, Azerbaijan, and both the Roumanian and Persian side of the frontier, is inhabited by people of the Turkish race and people of the Mohammedan religion. Across the Caspian Sea to the east are the multiple people of Central Asia, most of whom enjoyed independence until the coming of the Russians in the third quarter of the 19th century. These people, especially beginning in the nineties, were very susceptible to the doctrine of Pan-Turanianism, and these khans and other wealthy chieftains, who could do so, sent many of their sons to Berlin to be educated. These Turkish people of Central Asia, e.g. especially the Uzbeks and Kirgiz, also the Turkomans and Kazaks, as well as the Tadshiks, it is true, have been organized into constituents of the Soviet Union and undoubtedly have prospered somewhat under the Soviet planning system and industrialization, etc.

Just how strong the separatist movement in Georgia and Central Asia is, cannot be determined from this distance but it is there in the history of these people, and it is worthy of our study because one possible way for the Germans to further the dissolution of the Soviet Union would be to promise Turkey leadership of the Turanian world and a commanding position in the politics

of the Middle East. You have given a partial map, which is this one, of the Caucasian people which will be relevant for Turkey and Central Asia, to which might be added a partial map of Sinkiang, as the majority of the people in the southern part of that territory also are Turkish and Moslem. In other words, an interplay of race, language and religion in this area of the world is a subject for study of military and political potentialities.

TO: Colonel William J. Donovan
 FROM: Ralph Bard
 SUBJECT: Caucasasia

December 4, 1941

One item which is illustrated by this map is that one of the blandishments the Nazis can offer the Turks is the revival of the Pan-Turanian movement of uniting all Turkish speaking people of the Middle East under the leadership of modern Turkey to make a new empire that would subscribe in many ways in what the Germans call "Volkstum". While it is true that the Balkan area was at one time under Persian domination, Azerbaijan, and both the Roumanian and Persian side of the frontier, is inhabited by people of the Turkish race and people of the Mohammedan religion. Across the Caspian Sea to the east are the multiple people of Central Asia, most of whom enjoyed independence until the coming of the Russians in the third quarter of the 19th century. These people, especially beginning in the nineties, were very susceptible to the doctrine of Pan-Turanianism, and these Wazirs and other wealthy chieftains, who could do so, sent many of their sons to Berlin to be educated. These Turkish people of Central Asia, e.g. especially the Uzbeks and Kirgiz, also the Turkomans and Kazaks, as well as the Tadzhiks, it is true, have been organized into constituents of the Soviet Union and undoubtedly have prospered somewhat under the Soviet planning system and industrialization, etc.

Just how strong the separatist movement in Georgia and Central Asia is, cannot be determined from this distance but it is there in the history of these people, and it is worthy of our study because one possible way for the Germans to further the dissolution of the Soviet Union would be to promise Turkey leadership of the Turanian world and a commanding position in the political

of the Middle East. For that reason a racial map, such as this one, of the Caucasian people might well be worked out for Turkey and Central Asia, to which might be added a racial map of Sinkiang, as the majority of the people in the southern part of that territory also are Turkish and Moslem. In other words, an interplay of race, language and religion in this area of the world is a subject for study of military and political potentialities.

TO: National William F. Friedman

November 7, 1942

FROM: High Staff

SUBJECT: Caucasus

One item which is illustrated by this map is that one of the blandishments the Nazis can offer the Turks is the revival of the Pan-Turanian movement of uniting all Turkish speaking people of the Middle East under the leadership of modern Turkey to make a new empire that would subscribe in many ways to what the Germans call "Volkstum". While it is true that the Turk area was at one time under Persian domination, Armenian, and both the Hungarian and Persian side of the frontier, is inhabited by people of the Turkish race and people of the Mohammedan religion. Across the Caspian Sea to the east are the multiple people of Central Asia, most of whom enjoyed independence until the coming of the Russians in the third quarter of the 19th century. These people, especially beginning in the nineties, were very susceptible to the doctrine of Pan-Turanianism, and those sultans or other senior chieftains, who could do so, sent many of their sons to Berlin to be educated. These Turkish people of Central Asia, e.g. especially the Uzbeks and Kirgiz like the Turkomans and Kazaks, as well as the Tadshiks, it is true, have been organized into constituents of the Soviet Union and undoubtedly have prospered somewhat under the Soviet planning system and industrialization, etc.

Just how strong the separatist movement in Central Asia is, cannot be determined from this distance. It is a factor in the history of these people, and it is worthy of note because one possible way for the Germans to break out of the Soviet Union would be to promise Turkish independence of the Turanian world and a commanding position.

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of the Middle East. For that reason a racial map, such as this one, of the Caucasian people might well be worked out for Turkey and Central Asia, to which might be added a racial map of Sinkiang, as the majority of the people in the southern part of that territory also are Turkish and Moslem. In other words, an interplay of race, language and religion in this area of the world is a subject for study of military and political potentialities.

MEMORANDUM

Hopper, R. R.

TO: Colonel William J. Donovan

December 9, 1941

FROM: ~~W. J. Donovan~~ *W. J. Donovan*

SUBJECT: Caucasasia

One item which is illustrated by this map is that one of the blandishments the Nazis can offer the Turks is the revival of the Pan-Turanian movement of uniting all Turkish speaking people of the Middle East under the leadership of modern Turkey to make a new empire that would subscribe in many ways in what the Germans call "Volkstum". While it is true that the Baku area was at one time under Persian domination, Azerbaijan, and both the Roumanian and Persian side of the frontier, is inhabited by people of the Turkish race and people of the Mohammedan religion. Across the Caspian Sea to the east are the multiple people of Central Asia, most of whom enjoyed independence until the coming of the Russians in the third quarter of the 19th century. These people, especially beginning in the nineties, were very susceptible to the doctrine of Pan-Turanianism, and those boys and other wealthy chieftains, who could do so, sent many of their sons to Berlin to be educated. These Turkish people of Central Asia, e.g. originally the Uzbeks and Kirgiz, also the Turkomans and Kazaks, as well as the Tadzhiks, it is true, have been organized into constituent of the Soviet Union and undoubtedly have prospered somewhat under the Soviet planning system and industrialization, etc.

Just how strong the Pan-Turanian movement in Germany, or in Turkey, is, cannot be ascertained from this distance but it is there in the history of these people, and it is worthy of our study because one possible way for the Germans to further the disintegration of the Soviet Union would be to promise Turkey leadership of the Turanian world and a commanding position in the politics of the Middle East.

This long and weary life: We are not alone by a long way, we can not see, we stir with a drifting red fire which we may never reach.

We may never reach, - but we gaze on the unknown and the gods to able hands, our youth.

My message from America, therefore, is that not all the saints have been crucified; and they will again have their day, in Europe as elsewhere. For the first time in a decade, to paraphrase Wilde: Hope, like the dawn, on silver sandalled feet, down the dark and silent street, creeps like a frightened girl. In telling you that I want to assure you that the heart of America is right, and that through suffering we will acquire wisdom, - it is so important for the rest of the world that this time America be wise as well as gallant and brave in world affairs. I hope I have been as humble for my country as I personally feel.

The greatest battle of the last century was fought in a vision of the revolution, of the social and industrial revolution engulfing into its swirl, changing for the better the lives of us all.

But this is the moment of historical peril, a time when only poetry can capture the unutterable feelings of men. It is a moment when soldiers, spared in World War battles, feel their old wounds burning again. Men in the last war learned that the impossible is possible. In the elation of being spared, from day to day, when comrades were dropping like stars out of the flying line, they learned the loss of the rise and fall of nations. They learned what the ancient Greeks knew: the secret of happiness is freedom, and the secret of freedom is courage. And they learned what General Simovitch so rightly said: Men die in fighting; nations only die in yielding.

These men from the last war knew how to fight without hate. They would have made a soldier's peace. And they know now that this is not the end of civilization. It is not the beginning of a new Dark Age. It is, rather, the prelude to a new renaissance, a new Elizabethan era during which the asserations of political and economic blunders will be washed away; and man himself, with his muscles naked and his primitive virtues restored, will march into the future with a buoyant confidence, a confidence which comes from having looked upon the head of Medusa without turning to stone.

Of course, it may not be for us all to see that time of wonder. As Justice Holmes said, at the end of his

his

from the subject assigned, America in foreign affairs. As I said, I could not present a necessarily balanced, or rather what my own thoughts and feelings might be. Perhaps have I tried to bring a message from America, a message of hope. To that end I have shown America per se in a small bracket, against the huge backdrop of history and all mankind. I have tried to show America as a young nation arriving at maturity, with restraints still to learn, such as wisdom, faith to balanced words, a sense of measure, and graceful acceptance of change in this transition period.

I have focussed, finally, on youth, because in the words of Epictetus: The ruler has said only the free shall be educated, but God has said only the educated shall be free.

It is for us to make youth see that periods of freedom are the exception, not the rule, on the pages of history; to see that history, with its long swing changes, is, in the words of Voltaire, the tread of sabots going up the stair, and the patter of satin slippers coming down.

That faith in the resilience of mankind makes teaching a privilege. From the contagious elan of youth we hear the song of the race renewing itself in each generation. To be close to youth is to be close to hope, and to see, beyond the ice jam of the old world, cracking up and washing down stream and out to the historical sea, - to see a new world coming in at the head of the river, unlike anything that ever existed before. That will be the new era, and a brighter day.

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and presentation, plus vitality and good humor. - These mould the character of youth.

But it is not a one-way street. Great teachers are called into being by the alert, frank, and quick response of appreciative students. Men privileged to live long with students seem to reflect back the optimism of youth. In time they arrive at wisdom and nobility of mind. Some even attain to beauty of mind, that beauty of mind suggested in a New England epitaph: "He walked among men, and wist not that his face shone".

Finally, the third element in character forming of our leaders of tomorrow, - the University. In a period of breakdown the right education of youth is more important than building monuments and roads. The University, along with the Church, is the guardian of the essentials of civilization. In periods of historic decline man has regained his path through reformation of education. It was too late when darkness came down on Rome, for faith in the old gods was destroyed before the new faith, Christianity, had captured the educated classes. In subsequent cycles, however, the Universities and the Church, kept the torch burning in the sheltered recess, awaiting the new day. In free countries, especially those outside the line of war, the Universities have a special function to serve as custodians of that liberalism now vanishing from other lands; to serve as did the monasteries in the Dark Ages, custodians of the best in European culture.

VI. CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, it may seem that I have drifted far

Again, as a member of the profession, the teacher has the responsibility of the poet. For he has the power to affect the lives of young people, who respond so eagerly to his instruction, and who are bewildered by his intellect, as evidenced in their silence. The university entrusts the teacher with the sanction of grades, - his judgment on student performance in terms of effort and ability. With that sanction goes an unwritten moral obligation, the Hippocratic Oath of teaching, to assume before society a responsibility for turning out from his classroom, year after year, public minded citizens, equipped with tools to cope with a changing world, and a nobility of mind to meet unforeseen disaster. If the teacher evades this obligation to society, if he promotes class hatred, if he neglects to correlate his teaching to the problems of the living world outside the walls, then he fails to attain fruitful identity with youth, with growth.

In times of historical peril the teacher is troubled by the choice: to bear the torch, or to wave the flag. He should not indecise, but should present a balance between idealism and realism, between ~~what ought to be~~ and ~~what actually is~~. To that end he must guard his academic status, and accept the same ~~responsibility~~ placed on students, which is: Enter to Grow in Wisdom, but do not bring unfavorable repute upon the University.

To lure fresh minds into unraveling new riddles which stem from old riddles in society; to awaken in students aspiration to deeds he himself may never perform; the teacher must gladly teach, - he must radiate the adventure and glamor of his subject. He must wear his scholar's hood with infectious good humor. Scholarship
and

the thin line in the middle age level; we only find those lost in the last war, who by their wisdom and loss through suffering might well have prevented this Second World War.

Youth is not aware of these things. Their past is still ahead of them. There is no way to transmit that knowledge. We can repeat a phrase of Theodore Roosevelt: is the age of 30 a man is responsible for his face. At 30 his face tells what kind of race he has run. If God give him grace, he will have achieved harmony with himself, with ambition geared to ability, - no more, no less, no either deviation leads to frustration, and heartache, which become etched into the lines of his face. This students can grasp, but as through a glass darkly.

The second element in forming character is the teacher. What makes a good teacher? We don't know. We do know there are two types of leader, the man of intellect, and the man of action. It is Moses who views the Promised Land from the top of Mt. Pisgah; it is Joshua who circles the walls of Jericho with the trumpet. A good teacher must be both intellect and action.

As a man of intellect he must have the technique of the scientist to pioneer an adventure of his own along the horizon of knowledge, thus to add his paragraph of achievement to the long record of man's conquest over nature (physical sciences) or to man's conquest over himself (social sciences). That adventure is the teacher's identity in terms of subject. It is often lonely and baffling work, on the horizon. But, if he fails in his quest, if he brings no tales of new gold on the frontier of the mind, then he falls short of being a good teacher.

Again,

who are not admitted, and the bright-eyed ones whom
 who escaped the frustrations of the 60's and 70's. I
 should like to close with a word about them, what is
 forcing their character?

First, the students themselves. Some, by the laws
 of averages, are destined to frustration. Others, through
 ability, effort, or luck, will have the full life. We can
 not tell now. Each one has a different identity; their
 wings are untied.

Like their elders they are driven by the four main
 desires of existence: distinction (or response); economic
 security; adventure; and sex, - the order depending on
 the individual. Some feel that fifth propulsion, the
 quest for the Unattainable, the Caracassene of the poem,
 never to be reached, the ever fleeting object of desire, -
 a Platonic idea, like music of the spheres.

They fear in that so much substance will be shot
 away on the battlefield that their generation will be
 forced to concentrate only on repairs, hard and long labor,
 with no chance for the creative life.

They do not know yet that it is their own character
 which will determine whether labor is routine or creative.
 Youth is the natural custodian of ideals, which pass down
 in time, from generation to generation of youth, from the
 very morning of the race. If it were not for youth, ideals
 and ability of mind would perish in these recurrent cycles
 of real politics.

Youth is likewise the ageless time of life. To
 students the surroundings are a blur of human beings.
 Only after forty do we become aware of the significance
 of age-level in human affairs. We are tragically aware of
 the

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talent and merit. In general, the present transition seems to be from the particular back to something approaching the universal, from individual men back to central authority, from small state patterns to regional customs blocs, etc., - a recentralization reversing the splintering process of 400 years ago. I say it seems to be that. We really don't know. We know we want to pass into it by evolution, and not by revolution. We are, as said by Lord Salisbury, on a small oasis, surrounded by a desert, - illimitable unknown.

That brings us back to youth, - youth in general which we must recapture. There is a special task for the youth of the University, which continues to be the Plerian spring.

The worst victims of the world ~~war~~ are not the present generation of students. There is sunlight ahead for them, at the end of the tunnel. Nor are the worst victims the generation of the last war. We of the last war had, at least, a gilded hour, which compensated for the years between in hospitals, - the years that the locusts devoured.

But in between us, of the last war, and present youth is the lost generation, les enfants perdus. They were too young for the last war, and just ripe for the economic depression. They were in a hurry, with no solution in sight. They were swept from their moorings. They became bitter, and ate strange flesh. And where they found leaders to capitalize their wrongs, they put on devastating revolutions.

They are to be pitied, not enfants perdus, because they will be broken on the wheel of events. The New Order will probably be worked out by a combination of the elders,

and now increasing domination of the mass element in 1917.

It would all come back to this: change and inevitability. History is a dynamic process. The issue is whether change shall be by evolution or by revolution.

The impact of science on politics, plus the impact of barbarism on civilization, - these produce a historical transition. That is the function of the present historical period.

Had we time we could spell out the characteristics of previous transitions. Considering Western Europe, there was the transition from chaos to the order of feudalism about the time of Charlemagne. There was a great transition in the 15th and 16th centuries involving the breakdown of Church and Empire authority and the emergence of the nation-states; the breakdown of feudal and town economy, and the emergence of incipient money economy; a breakdown of feudal families and the emergence of commercial, middle-class families; and in religion there was a breakdown of the unity of Christendom. In general that second transition was from the universal to the particular; it created small states; it developed government in the interest of the individual, hence individual enterprise, private capitalism, liberal thought, and modern democracy.

The third transition has been under way since about 1870. It may mean the breakdown of the small-states system, and the emergence of large political federations; a breakdown of plutocracy, and the emergence of the social service state; a breakdown of middle-class domination, and the emergence of the mass. In the new era new classes will form, recruited from all layers, and based, at first, on

talent

Being a "young" people, of relative youth, they have greater vitality and elan. They change the character of civilization and sweep the law. Society then becomes fluid again. Their historic role is to destroy the old, to set a new political fashion. Eventually they must be taken into partnership. It is the marriage of their primitive barbarian energy with a decadent culture which produces a new bloom on the face of mankind. And civilization begins anew on a higher plane. Many such instances leap to the mind: the coming of the Dorian Greeks into decadent Mycenae was the propulsion for the Hellenic Age and the glory that was Greece; the Lombards in Northern Italy gave impetus to the renaissance; the Visigoths in Spain produced the elan which led to the expulsion of the Moors and the discovery of America; the periodic sweep of the nomads over the Great Wall forced China to renew her vitality from within her own vastness. And so it may prove now. The impact of barbarism forces industrial democracies to revert to the primitive virtues by which they came into being, to slough off the accretions of fat living, and to find the solution for distribution best suited to this stage of man's advance toward heaven.

There is no limit to this type of presentation, once we focus on change. We could show man's continuous search for a peace system: from the formula of unity, 1814-1848; to the balance of power doctrine, 1848 onward; to collective security, the new ethic which flourished and died between the first and the second World Wars.

We could explain the shift in the class incidence of power, how domination of the aristocracy gave way to domination of the middle class after the French Revolution,

the realm of accelerated production is leading to retarded distribution, the eternal problem of the one and the many, the basis of political action, furnishing parallels that exist in various periods. Propertyless men continue to be a mirror for tyrants. Without widespread ownership of property there can be no democracy, no freedom for man to move and develop his talent. I doubt if a measure of private property can for long be established; the problem is as old as society itself.

Another dictator of change in science, which accelerates production. Politics, on the other hand, control distribution. Between the two there is an inevitable time lag. When distribution falls too far behind there come revolutions and wars, and a general levelling between classes and between nations, so that distribution tends to catch up again, politics catching up with science, only to fall behind once more. The ultimate solution would be transformation of human nature, to make man something only less than the angels.

Also must we explain to our youth the time lag between civilization and barbarism. Throughout history a civilized "have" people have settled down to static existence with good laws, and in relative abundance. They become sleek in their own luxuries; their cattle are fat and their meadows are lush, as in ancient Egypt. They lose their primitive virtues; they forget the use of arms; they lower their birth rate. And their appetites for luxury increase as their manners soften. That is civilization gone decadent.

Then come the barbarians, who are not static but dynamic. They learn the new science and the new weapons.

Being

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by America is the timely acceptance of change, which is something we can learn from the youth of all free lands, - the imperishable expectancy of youth, - especially of that youth which has the privilege of holding the sword aloft in battle today.

Just as women are more aware than men of what is going on at a large tea party, so in youth more aware than adults of pending historic changes. I don't mean minor changes of government, but vast changes of the transition period type, which seem to occur every 100 years or so.

In a given historical setting, when the natural leaders of a country are blind to change, there is a tendency of youth, which is change-conscious, to shift their loyalties to revolutionary leaders who promise them the world. At such a moment it is the function of education to recapture the loyalty of youth by proving that change can come by evolution, and need not follow the path of Kali the Destroyer, - revolution. We need a doctrine of evolution.

The difficulty is that the forces dictating the mechanism of change are, as yet, largely unknown. All we can do is to rationalize the observed historical process. For convenience we might use the Hegelian Dialectic, and show anti-thesis attacking thesis, and the resulting synthesis, in various periods of history, as human society evolved from the cave to the present turmoil.

In presenting a doctrine of evolution we should have to account for the mysterious function of property. The cave man faced a twofold problem: how to conquer the external forces of nature (produce); and how to conquer himself in society (distribute). That twofold problem comes down to us from the morning mists of time. It is

Russian stage is that to reach that the day of hell has never died. That is what we must learn from the Russian people.

IV. RESTRAINT OF MEASURE.

A third restraint I should like to see brought to America is the restraint of a sense of measure, of moderation. We are so extreme, so exaggerated, that we fail to attain the harmony of the Russian ideal.

To learn a sense of measure it would probably be well for us to study the Swedish people. What is this so-called middle way? Is it the basis of a philosophy as it was in China?

Of course, a sense of measure is often confused with something else. I am thinking of the scorching message the writer of Revelations sent to the Church of the Laodiceans: I know thy works. Thou art neither hot nor cold. Because thou art neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm, I will spew thee from my mouth.

Now, that wasn't a sense of measure on the part of the Laodiceans; it was just lack of heat.

In any case, the Swedish people have something to teach us about moderation and sense of measure; for instance the handling of the liquor problem here, or the wartime mild restriction on free press. The Swedish way is so much more sane than the constant throwing of our baby out with somebody else's bath, as we are inclined to do when aroused.

V. RESTRAINT OF TIMELY ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE, - FROM YOUTH.

Last on my list of desirable restraints to be acquired

by

and become man has advanced his science to the stars, has changed his mode of production, and changed his weapons, in the never-ending quest to solve the riddle of production and distribution. Progress is up hill and down hill, but never toward toward the horizon of things unknown.

Lack of science made the East fatalistic and mystical, always searching for God, and for salvation in a life to come. Possession of science made the West progressive and materialistic; the West seeks to conquer nature, confident of building a man-made paradise on earth.

Man needs both these philosophies, the Eastern being, and the Western becoming. When Western man veers on through materialism and wars to his own degradation, then he searches again for some haven on which to lay his head. And he finds that the East has not forgotten the wisdom of the way of Mary, of sublime faith.

Of course, we know that the way of Martha also is necessary. But it may be that we have emphasized the way of Martha overmuch. We are cluttered about with works, not all useful or even desirable; we are so hampered in by gadgets of our own devising that the maintenance of comfort becomes a burden. It may be that with the creep of materialism throughout our society the way of Mary has been lost to us. Some students of religion have maintained that because of their preservation of the way of Mary the Russian people will, one day, be the hope of the world. They still may be the hope, as our spiritual lamps go out, one by one. I, myself, have no doubt that reevangelization of Russia will take place in our time, and that when the bells are again heard on the Russian

not to touch any iron bar", said Mr. Smith. Brown
was captured about with much exertion, while they sat at
the feet of the Master and heard his word.

San Francisco was the way of Mary, or the mystical, in
the Russian church was the origin. Primitive Christianity
was much given to contemplation in the desert. The
religion that called up the Russian rivers from Spasenie
was the religion of the hermit; the faces on the icons
were faces of ascetics who had died in Egypt. Being
isolated from the West, Russia preserved the direct
traditions of the early church, which was the way of Mary.

We, in the West, are proud of our science, our pro-
gress. But we may wonder if we have science in order to
prepare for war every twenty years. We may wonder if we
have science for the individual life, to push the grave
toward the horizon and at the same time move us more
rapidly toward that grave.

In the East, life is ordered differently. To the
Eastern mind life was a wheel that revolved. A point on
the rim returned, in time, to the same place. What
happened once will happen again. Hence that arch pessimist,
the writer of the Book of Ecclesiastes: "There is nothing
new under the sun". Or as the old Lama kept saying to
him: "Man is tied to the wheel of mundane things".

The reason for this distinction is that in the East
hopes were placed in a life to come, - the joyful paradise
for warriors slain in battle; or annihilation and absorption
into Brahma; or the eightfold way ^{to} of Nirvana.

In the West, on the contrary, life is not conceived
as a revolving wheel, but as linear progress in man's
conquest over nature. Life does not return to the same
spot

the night of Gai, the Generalissimo and his son, Chiang Kai-shek (Kai Lung Soong).

I venture to believe that what civilization Japan will be lifting on her own volcano, with revolution boiling up from below, as it did in Russia in 1918, while China will be recognized as the leader in the renaissance of all Asia.

Asia is the oldest and yet the youngest of continents. What America was to Europe for four hundred years after our renaissance, so Asia will be to the industrialized West, a new frontier luring capital and brains in the process of industrializing over half the human race now on the threshold of the industrial revolution. Asia is the greatest storehouse of unexploited raw materials, and the greatest manpower of the globe. Is Asia to be exploited by avowed militant power? Are Asiatics to be condemned to slave for distant masters of the air? Or are Asiatics to be assisted along the path of self-government and economic solvency? All Asia, including India's untutored millions, is at stake in this war. China, at least, has wisdom equal to the task. China is an American emotion. I would go to China for wisdom.

III. RESTRAINT OF FAITH, TO BALANCE EXUBERANT WORKS.

The next restraint I would propose for America is the restraint of faith, to balance exuberant works. For this I would go to the Russian people. As pointed out by Stephen Graham, Eastern Christianity is associated with Mary's good part, and Western Christianity with the way of Martha and service. "Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about with many things; but one thing is needful; and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall

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quickly adopted all Western techniques, and created the industrial foundation which is now at the climax of its growth.

Reformers arose in China, but they could make no progress until Sun Yat sen showed the way with the Three Principles. But it remained for the Japanese Army to achieve where reformers had failed, to unite China, and even to reconcile the Communists with the Kuomintang.

As you know, since 1937 there has been a westward movement of Chinese institutions, of government, of universities, of 60 million people including the best talent in China, along with industries and machinery, moving out to the sources of raw materials, to the inland citadel of Szechuen.

Szechuen is the true Shangri-la. I remember so well the scenes in that varied climate, - the tender green of the rice paddies; the water wheels of the great irrigation system which is two thousand years old; the flaming rhododendrons on the ridges in the middle distance; and the background of perpetual snow on the Szechuenese Alps, the mountain wall which shuts off the winds from Tibet.

It is a beautiful setting for the new China. Out there China is re-finding her identity in the industrial age, with voluntary cooperatives taking the place of the foreign owned industries of the coast. By leaving her historical shackles behind in the treaty ports China is at last on her true course. And China will take her rightful place among nations, to which she is entitled by her numbers (one fourth of all humanity), by the diligence of her people, and by the intelligence of her educated leaders, including that extraordinary pair, in

doubt if you will find any civilization or internationalism equal in nobility or courage to that of the Chinese race.

One can only look with amazement at the astonishing continuity of China which comes down to us in unbroken identity from the time of Yu of the Xia Dynasty. When Genghis built the great pyramid, China was there. When Russia, Persia, and Poland, China always survived; China survived every vicissitude known to man. Wave after wave of barbarians scaled the Great Wall, and rode their shaggy ponies over the cultivated fields of China, only to be melted down as the vast bosom of that superior culture. For China had wisdom. China passed through her League of Nations period two thousand years ago. And in her philosophy China learned the wisdom of peace, the wisdom that made Asia mild.

And so it continued, for dynasty after dynasty, China renewing herself from within every 300 years or so. Thus it might have continued until the end of time so long as the weapons did not change. By paradox, China invented gunpowder, but used it only for fireworks to express happiness. When the Western gunboats fired the China coast in the 19th century the Chinese tended to treat the commercial invaders as another set of barbarians who could be played off against each other. That was a costly mistake. The Westerners had superior weapons. And soon they were gnawing on the body of China like a school of sharks slashing at a sick whale, for concessions, extraterritoriality, and other forms of capitulations.

While China was refusing to read the significance of the new weapons, Japan, during the Meiji Restoration, quickly

wanted well their own people. Wanting to know
 well their people, they first regulated their
 families. Wanting to regulate their families,
 they first cultivated their persons. Wanting to
 cultivate their persons, they first rectified
 their hearts. Wanting to rectify their hearts,
 they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts.
 Wanting to be sincere in their thoughts, they first
 extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such
 extension of knowledge lay in the investigation
 of things.

"5. Things being investigated, knowledge
 became complete. Their knowledge being complete,
 their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being
 sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their
 hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated.
 Their persons being cultivated, their families were
 regulated. Their families being regulated, their
 states were rightly governed. Their states being
 rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil
 and happy.

"6. From the Son of Heaven down to the mean
 of the people, all must consider the cultivation of
 the person the root of everything possessed."

Here is true individualism defined, not as liberty
 to do as you please, but as freedom to cultivate the
 person, which is the root of everything possessed, and to
 seek illustrious virtue which is the highest excellence.
 Search all the pages written by our apostolic succession
 of Utopian dreamers, both classical and Christian, and I
 doubt

Now, I find much to admire in my country, and certain aspects to deplore. Our boasting sin is over-ambition; I may illustrate by recalling that God made the world, and found it good, but rather bare and dull. So He made man, and found him good also, but still inadequate. Finally, He made woman, out of the celebrated rib, and found her especially good. There were thus three items, each one intrinsically good. But somehow the combination worked out less good than was intended, - man, woman, and the world. It was over-adequate, the sin of exuberance. So it is with America, over adequacy for the immediate job, but perhaps lacking in the necessary restraint to mould that exuberance into channels of permanent benefit for all mankind.

How can America learn restraint? I don't know. Tonight I would select four restraints, and tell what peoples have practiced them. We will take for granted what America has, and talk about what America has not.

II. RESTRAINT OF WISDOM, - FROM THE CHINESE.

For the restraint of wisdom, I believe, we must go to the Chinese. For instance, we are ready to fight and die for individualism. But what do we mean by individualism, another name for selfishness? By liberty do we mean license? These terms are not clear in western democracies, but they have been clear to the Chinese. I will read a short passage from the Confucian text of THE GREAT LEARNING, written 2,500 years ago. (I have borrowed this Legge translation from Professor Siren):

"4. The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first

The continuous movement of machinery is symbolized in the last part of my speech what I mean by implacable. It's the American people, in whose veins runs the rich blood of all the nations of Europe, it is the American people who are at war, not just their elected representatives. And the American people are angry, - fighting men. That should be a warning to those who declared war on America, because whatever the tide of war elsewhere, America will still be there, and still implacable.

My own fears concern not the outcome in the field, but rather the effects of victory on character. One could prove, with chapter and verse, that much of the evils of the last two decades resulted from the effect of the unexpected victory in 1918 on the character of the victors, especially the French. My unexpected, I mean in the timing; victory in 1918 would have resulted in a better peace.

Aldous Huxley, in his book "Eyeless in Gaza", points out that never in history have ends justified the means. The law of history is that the means tend to condition and determine the ends. In fighting fire with fire must we become like fire? In fighting these plans for mankind which we consider abhorrent do we ~~in the process~~ become infected with the poison we set out to remove? If so, ~~and~~ ~~that~~ That would be sorrow's crown of sorrow for all who believe in the mobility of our purpose. It is a risk inherent in the situation, a risk we must take, with our eyes open, lest we be like Hansen, eyeless in Gaza, and pull down the temple we seek to preserve.

Now,

by which the all-wise Sages decided by the people to
 out to prove that America could in fact put off war to
 Act of Congress. Again, far from the far from the

A. PHASE OF MATURITY, 1900 ON.

I would say America's mental maturity began in 1900;
 work it out backward if you like. The American infant,
 toughened on the frontier, grew up haphazard, had a
 turbulent adolescence, and then a period of illusions
 in discovering what the real world can be like.

But, as fire hardens what it can not destroy, so do
 cataclysmic events hasten the maturity of individuals and
 nations. America is ripening to maturity in the full glow
 of confident strength. We now know there is no unknown
 line in history, but an up hill - down hill course, as man
 in the decline gains momentum for the next rise. We know
 there is no escape from our planet in space, nor from the
 tasks of our historical period in time. We know now we
 are inevitably concerned with our neighbor's burning house.
 We know this is not just another war. It is not a crusade
 to make the world safe for democracy. It is what it is, a
 grim, and implacable, determination to survive, and to pass
 into the new era by the laws of evolution and not by some-
 body else's fantastic revolution.

Using Professor Gail's yardstick I would say that
 only now, and as a result of war, is America arriving at
 maturity; ergo, the period of true liberalism should be
 ahead of us, not behind us.

But the privilege of being liberal is still to be won.
 I have not a flicker of doubt as to the outcome versus
 external enemies. There is something torrential about

the

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the Big Stick, or Dollar Diplomacy. There was the episode of inspired revolution in Panama, - our particular greenhouse when it comes to throwing stones. Of course, we continue to make payments for the wrong against Columbia, which is like committing sin knowing you can go to mass and be absolved if you are truly contrite.

When the World War came we did try to be neutral. But the fact that one belligerent could come for our supplies, and the other could not, meant that late or soon America would have to tie up her own ships, or enter the war.

We entered the war in an adolescent way. We actually believed it was possible to make the world safe for democracy, that we could internationalize our Declaration of Independence, and create a contagion of government by consent of the governed. The magic symbol was self-determination. Just let peoples rule themselves, or misrule themselves, and all would be lovely in the cosmos. Parcellate the map amongst all peoples with distinct languages, etc. and wars will end! Foresooth, foresooth, the world as a whole was not ready for such notions made in heaven. Hence the compromise peace which neither crippled nor conciliated Germany, from which the United States Senate recoiled. That was the end of another period, our first venture into world debate. We deposited a baby on the doorstep of Europe, the League of Nations, and ran home in search of an internal frontier which had vanished.

3. PERIOD OF ILLUSIONS, OF REFUSAL TO GROW UP, 1919-1933.

The third period, 1919-1933, I would call the period of illusions, of refusal to grow up. America was still immature in mind. We didn't like the Peace Treaty, so we made one of our own. And we opened for our last internal frontier which had made us so happy.

We had become the industrial giant of the Western World, but refused to accept the political predicate, - responsibility. We had been transformed during the World War from a debtor nation, owing on dollars abroad, in the latest creditor nation, being owed \$5 billion to us. Every dollar we owe nobody. It is sitting pretty. To insure the perpetual flow of wealth to our shores we slapped on the highest tariff of history, - so the debtors couldn't pay in goods; they couldn't pay in immigrant's remittances because of our 1924 quota law; they couldn't pay in gold because France and America had four-fifths of the total world supply; and after the economic depression they couldn't pay from American tourist expenditures because thereafter Americans had to stay home to grow up with the country. So what? Oh, just one of those things that happen when nations are opulent. I mention America in this respect. I could mention other nations, but in my new status as part of a diplomatic mission I forbear.

The list of our illusions and paradoxes in the period of refusal to grow up need not be rehearsed. I would only say it is a quality of mind which is ever present where there is a conflict between conscience and comfort. The climax was our Neutrality Act of 1937

the Big Stick, or Dollar Diplomacy. There was the episode of inspired revolution in Panama, - our particular green-house when it comes to throwing stones. Of course, we continue to make payments for the wrong against Columbia, which is like committing sin knowing you can go to mass and be absolved if you are truly contrite.

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Washington instructed our delegates to buy the Philippines (twenty million dollars?). We thus acquired overseas possessions in a way that made the famous British "fit of absence of mind" (in acquiring empire) seem almost deliberate. We took on a share of the so-called white man's burden. One ^{major} result was that the Philippines became a base to promote our policy of the Open Door in China and help defend China's territorial and administrative integrity. During the 80's a Republic had formed in Hawaii, the leaders being Americans who had descended from the order of missionaries. That Republic argued for five years to be adopted. Our Congress, with an air of great benevolence, finally consented, and the American flag was run over Hawaii. Of course, hostile critics could interpret that as the work of a successful Fifth Column, the missionaries turned sugar planters.

It is necessary to emphasize the change. In our infancy we walked with aimless feet, and spoke a childish prattle, - when we had neither outposts nor special interests abroad. The great powers could let us alone. But after 1900 the infant began waving fingers and arms; navigation had moved on from sail to steam. We were no longer remote. And no power could let us alone. Infancy, with its prerogatives, was over.

E. PERIOD OF ADOLESCENCE, 1900-1919.

Adolescence lasted from 1900, say, to 1919. Internally we had mastered the technique of mass production in a rich country, with a vast internal market. America had become the land of promise. We developed problems of hyphenization, with millions of new type immigrants. In foreign affairs the first decade of this century was our time of

hence the war between the States, 1861-65.

That was the era of null. America was remote from Europe. As President of a small state, George Washington in 1793 proclaimed our neutrality, as he said: "to gain time for our country to mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress to the command of our own fortunes".

There was no significant internal cleavage about foreign policy from 1789 to 1900. As we had but a small share in world trade, and practically no investments abroad (we were, of course, a debtor nation), the great powers could afford to let us alone to pursue our "Manifest Destiny". There was one episode, the ill-starred venture of Napoleon III to Mexico, an ineptitude wiped out with the blood of the victim, Maximilian.

We had proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine, 1823.

In 1867 Secretary Seward purchased Alaska from Russia, and lifted his voice in song, quoting Bishop Berkeley, that westward the course of empire takes its way, and that the lands washed by the Pacific were destined to be the main theatre in the great hereafter, etc.

America did not burst into the world arena until the Spanish-American War, 1898. No American can be proud of the Hearst jingoism of that time. The feeling of America, however, was merely indignation over the treatment of a little fellow, the Cuban. After our delegates reached Paris, for the peace negotiations with Spain, some one got the idea that the Philippines would go up on the auction block. Accordingly, a cable from

regarding the life cycle of a nation or which has passed in that a nation passes through the same cycle as an individual, - infancy, adolescence, maturity, and old age. He cites many historical examples to prove that only in its maturity, in the full bloom of its economic strength, can a nation afford to indulge in liberalism. In its youth and in its old age a nation must submit to regimentation, a euphonious label for dictatorship. Further, says Professor Gini, that liberalism is the result not of the particular wishes of the people, but of the full tide of the nation's economic power. Being economically successful, the political predicate (liberalism) is confused with the cause, and there ensues a wide emulation of the system, an adoption of liberalism elsewhere, even by nations which are in their infancy or old age, with disastrous results. Finally, there is a long biological turn-over as one race succeeds another in hegemony.

This theory is too complicated to present here, even if I understood it thoroughly myself. It can be challenged. I choose to accept it, in order to illustrate America's process of growth in world affairs, by noting our various periods.

1. PERIOD OF INFANCY, 1789-1900.

The American period of infancy was from 1789 to about 1900. We were for more than a century a small state, self-absorbed, growing inward, ploughing our prairies, despoiling the Indians, hacking a way through the wilderness with the compelling urge called "Manifest Destiny". Our people were almost exclusively North Sea stock; there was no serious hyphenization problem. Conflicting economic interests developed between regions,

hence

Personal
Colonel Wallin
J. O. O'Brien,
Coordinator of
Information

AMERICA IN SWEDISH JOURNAL

Institute of International Relations,
Stockholm, May 11, 1945.

By Bruce Hopper.

I have agreed to speak tonight about the past and the future, leaving the present to the stars which fight in their courses. And, since it is difficult to shed the smell of the lamp, I should like to consider this a class room, that I may speak exclusively to students here on a philosophy of history as guide to the future, especially their future. That is my purpose. A news-worthy talky-talk is out of the question. I fear I shall disappoint some who may expect military or diplomatic information. That would be unbecoming in a happy guest. Also, I have concern for the kind of peace we shall have rather than anxiety over the military outcome of the war. Much will depend on the character of America in the moment of victory. Of that I will speak.

To that end I would present America as a process of growth, and then select four attributes which America, even as a mature nation, must learn. These are, first: wisdom; for that I would go to the Chinese. Second, faith to balance works; for that go to the Russian people. Third, a sense of measure in all things; that we get from the Swedish people. And fourth, graceful and timely acceptance of change; for this last we would go to the youth of all free lands who by their great expectancy constantly remind us that, somehow, good will be the final goal of ill. There are other desirable attributes, and other peoples to consider. I select tonight rather than survey, in order to illustrate and to bring to focus my theme.

I. AMERICA - A PROCESS OF GROWTH.

Professor Uini, of Rome, is the author of a theory

as we burst into the sunlight at the end of the tunnel. I was devoured with admiration for all the men who keep the communications open over the line of war, whether in convoy or by plane. I thought of those pilots and crews who shuttle back and forth, and scale that black vault over the Skagerrack. They are quiet chaps. I dined with them lately, with voices low and kind, and with a certain strain in the eyes from searching for elusive horizons. These are men of Britain and Norway, with wives and children at the base. As a type they belong to the rulers of the tomorrows, when the overwhelming dictate of air power will render obsolete the schemes of bogged reformers, and crumble the anachronistic politicians, along with their bull-necked retainers, of our portion of history into a befitting dust. Air power and radio rightly understood, can fashion a new world of freedom. Air power will dictate the identity of the small state and the personality of the individual in the broad universal pattern of all mankind.

and so we came to Sweden over the line of war. Here the windows to be opened and stared in, money, and cengereels to be cooled in snow. The Swedish checks are on when the Swedish thoughts are blue. It's a sweet country. I am tied down in a cozy study in the annex to the Legation (formerly the Minister's residence), surrounded by trees and flooded by sun. A beautiful setting for noble thoughts.

the internal weakness of the...
had its moments.

The parachute harness was to be like a suit of armor. I was long in the reach, or short in the wind, or something. I couldn't seem to fit anything available. Finally, in order to be snuffed into the thing, I had to assume a Neanderthal crouch. Really, I didn't begin with a pre-historic slink, and lunched aboard like King Kong on a bender. No heads up for me; by all evidence I was not long out of the trees.

Then came the pleasant chatter while we all bulked our way into seats assigned. In a moment the lights were out, and we were ripped off the ground by the big motors. It seemed like being inside the container of a pneumatique tube, shaped like a parabola, stretching from the base to the target. After some minutes we were ordered to don the oxygen masks (I babbled no more, - just smoldered, inhaled ozone, and recounted all my sins, those already committed, and those pleasantly contemplated). No jug, no wine, but wilderness vast and cold, - and immense noise amid unriven blackness. Angels and demons fought their endless battle for supremacy. And over us all the spell of the music of the spheres, and wonder. Time and space became elemental.

Some years later (actually four hours) the eager sun hurled himself in sovereign majesty over the rim of the cloud floor. A gorgeous new day moved toward us. Through a rift appeared the coast of Sweden, deep snow. The lights went up, and the pilgrims awakened from their astral coma. Much pent-up babble was spilled over the coffee and sandwiches served in the snow at six, six, and were warmly greeted by the British officials whose constant care for detail in organization keeps the tube open for pilgrims and mail.

(I am told of a bear in armor that came through the tube, its paws waving the oxygen nozzle under its nose; it was even fed from a bottle at 20,000 feet!).

What is man in his conquest over nature. If he could only conquer himself as well there would be many more blue heavens and many more for a while gray ones in the West. Until he does conquer himself in society, there will be politics and periodic visitations of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.

*By the Captain
from B.C.N.*

*American Legation,
Stockholm
March 20, 1941.*

On Arriving in Sweden By Tube.

In the hotel, near the base, were sundry pilgrims, all of them brasses within the law. Some of them had been there for more than a week, I but for a few hours. The alert was set for nine o'clock. I hoped the signal would be red (no flight), as I could then visit the Parthenon to Marvel anew, and to burn punk sticks to the ancestors in Auld Reekie. That was very perverse of me as there was a contagion of anticipation in the dining room. I retired to write letters. Suddenly the signal came: green, - the night was hopelessly fair, despite the uncertain drizzle. There was a bounding on the stair. A firmly polite Mercury informed me that time and space were not in a mood for dalliance, nor was the British Overseas Airways Corporation. Now, there are two things I don't like ever to do: 1) Hold up the parade; 2) Throw ice water on snow. I had asked the lady inn keeper to pray that we might carry one flight in Jaricho so I could let my beard grow, gird up my garters, etc; accordingly I charged her with using the wrong code in her intercession. She just gurgled something in dialect. I precipitated myself into the band of pilgrims huddled in the dark corridors, and before they took her course.

Soon I was by an open fire with Viking captains, such as blow the whale down and drop the hook below the stern. They were exchanging tales of "those in peril on the seas." With only one convey behind me I felt inadequate for such steel-lunged company. Present also was a young lady, about to do her first take-off (I hunkered back to my first hero, Pours, France, 1917, when I clipped the kepi off the mantled by an orthodox but extremely happy landing). There seemed to be a cheerful rivalry amongst the handsome chaps in Transpost uniforms for the privilege of sealing our jeune fille into the beautiful flying suit and fleecy boots (10 degrees below zero F, at five miles). The curly male pilgrims brooded about in envy, like a covey of Homeric warriors, like the Paris and Helen counteracting along the walls of Ilium. I was over them. Throughout the ages men have protected their women against external harm; and women have protected their men against

Thanks to the staff work of Fisher Hare, Jensen and I managed to stay in London until the last possible moment, and even on a few hours notice, we were given priority in the form of berths on the sleeper to Edinburgh.

In Edinburgh I had breakfast with Dr. John Baillie, Professor of Theology at the University, and spent the morning with him. I had heard him several times, Sunday night sermons on the short wave to America. A wise man in politics. I also had several calls at St. Andrews University, being passed along from one professor to another.

As for our arrival here see the enclosed blurb which I have written for you, to take your mind off the cares of the day. As an old flier I was really impressed by that performance, especially because the pilots must fly by dead reckoning; the beams don't function over the line of war.

Margaret Johnson and Orson received us with warm cordiality. I am immensely delighted to discover that the Minister is a profound student of history, and has made many excursions into the past which are beyond anything I have done. I have been given an office in this annex, a wondrous mansion with modern radiators, along the water. Here is housed the Baltic Section, set up by the department this winter, under the direction of Carlson, ex. Lightner. Walter Washington is in charge of the Press Section (for incoming materials from America, and dissemination) on the first floor; and there Jensen will have a desk.

Tonight I go with Margaret Johnson to Victor Mallet, the British Minister, whom I first knew in Teheran. The Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs is expected to be there. On Monday or Tuesday Margaret will present me at the Foreign Office, and then I will be free to make the rounds ad lib. My numerous letters of introduction are still in the British pouch somewhere; we were not allowed to bring a single scrap of paper along.

Sweden is going to be an excellent vantage point for a, for it is the focus of currents from Russia, Finland, Baltic States, Germany, Britain and America. One never knows who is slipping the news paper at the next table. Living is on the expensive side, but not so bad as it was in Russia in the old days, before the black market was banned by the Y. U. S. to stop and mist foreigners in the market.

I am now getting on toward eleven, and I can still see service in the Swedish Church. This is just to bring myself up to date; thank you very much later.

Love to my wife.

I am so glad to be here; I could wish

all the best, Colonel, to you all at the home.

Yours,

Bruce C. Hopper

American Legation, London, England
 Sunday, 6:30 a.m. March 12, 1944

Dear Colonel:

I observe my first Sunday in Sweden by writing you a long delayed letter. The early hour is explained by the fact that the English church, near by, is closed during the winter; services are held elsewhere. Having come over the distance from my hotel, the Continental, I decided to hold service on my own here.

I did, in fact, write a screed on convoy life, but was advised not to send it; one just can not keep military information out of such a report. Three weeks on a whaler make a lively chapter in my rather lively life. I can say that we were all alone from New York to Halifax, and had three nights of brilliant moon and level sea, with four inches of ice on the fore deck. The Captain later told us that a sub was traveling north, thirty miles ahead of us, knocking off ships. But the nine passengers were so occupied in being chatty and bright to each other that we didn't even sense the anxiety on the bridge. The British Merchant Marine got top marks from me.

It was my good luck to catch Gil Winant for one profitable evening with him alone in his apartment, during which I learned much about the more obscure events of the 30's. He took me along to a reception at the Soviet Embassy given by Laisky in honor of the Red Army, - a jamboree of gold braid, etc. There I threw in with the American correspondents, and went with them to a Free Poland reception. London has a reception of some kind nearly every day, for officers of the United Nations, for this, for that, but all to promote friendly relations amongst the allies.

Through Bruce Lockhart, whom I have known for many years, I got in touch with Sir Orme Sargent, Under-Secretary, Foreign Office, and had a number of talks with him in his office and at dinner. Also with Mr. Warner, who is on the Northern desk. Anthony Eden I saw several times, but the expected conference did not come off owing to my departure. I believe I now understand what the British policy is in regard to Russia. (Incidentally, the British I have talked to refer again and again to the need for presentation of America to the British public; not figures of expected production so much as opinions, estimations of America's moods, etc. What is America? I should think some high powered and distinguished lecturers might be in order, not just journalists, not just scholars. Geoffrey Crowther, editor of the Economist, is very keen on promotion of this sort).

Other activities included calls on Wellington Koo, on the Swedish Legation, etc. Most of my time, however, was taken up by daily attendance at committee meetings of the British Economic Warfare, and Economic Intelligence, to learn the technique. It was a fascinating pursuit because the items under debate involved people, food, metals, etc, in concrete terms as to who gets what through the line of war. Anthony Blunt was very cooperative, and allowed me to read one of his long surveys.

One of my whaling companions (a fellow harpooner) was G. J. Ilford, director of Libby, McNeill and Libby, in England. I often went with him to his home, which is in the city, and met a number of men formerly in business and now in control of war, I, rubber, tea, petroleum, and the like. I was given a pass to explore the devastated areas of the continent. *And I saw the interior of Norway; for the first time before I left.*

The three week-ends I had were a great pleasure. The first was at Cliveden (where Henry Luca came for the night); the second at Wyndley, thanks to David's note to Connie Tree; and the third with the Andersons in Surrey, which was the most enjoyable and interesting of the three. It was a British, except for the ranking officers of the American Army who were a touch out of the Rockies.



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Stockholm, Sweden, March

April 7, 1942

Dear Colonel:

I have just listened to the voice of America which comes every morning at 9:15, broadcasted from London. It opens with President Roosevelt, then the announcer says he will give news general and local. First he told of air battles in the Far East, of the loss of the carrier Langley, and how the Destroyer Perry went down with her remaining guns wide open. Then exciting details of the conversion of automobiles into tanks, of war production, and finally a contrast between Hitler and Roosevelt's battle messages to their troops: Hitler, "There is only one faith, Germany." Roosevelt: "I hope you will be ready to read the Bible." There was again a song with President Roosevelt which in this outpour sounds like the buoyant and thrilling, nature of America's victory. The program was highly dignified, dignified, confident, and strong without bombast. It gave me a wave of nostalgia, of yearning for the uniform and to be where the staff is. It is great to have a country to fight for, as I realize now so well during these lonely evenings, or in the glow of the early morning light when I pass my room waiting for Sweden to wake up and bring me warm water.

Sweden is the king of the continent. Our opponents numbers come here to invade. I find that the German military HQ is here directly over me, in Strandvägen (71), next to our legation.

The Swedes are just coming out of their six months hibernation, and while the Strandvägen still appears to have the same old face, the harbor before my window is locked in ice.

Today my walking sticks should come. On Tuesday they will be sent to me (300 of them), along with the Minister, when they shall be to the staff Swedish president is over. I shall be launched. All the way to them at home, Sweden.

Yours truly,
John H. Johnson

- 2 -

It gave me a wave of nostalgia, of yearning for the uniform and to be where the stuff is hot. It's great to have a country to fight for, as I realize now so well during these lonely evenings, or in the glow of the early morning light when I pace my room waiting for Sweden to wake up and bring me warm water. //

Sweden is the lung of the continent. Our opposite numbers come here to breathe. I find that the German Military Attache' lives directly over me on Strandvägen (70) next to our Legation.

The Swedes are just coming out of their six months hibernation, and walk the Strandvägen with upturned faces to bask the sun. We have snow for Easter; the harbor before my window is locked in ice.

Today my calling cards should come. On Tuesday they will be sent around (300 of them), along with the Minister's. When that obligation to the stiff Swedish protocol is over I shall be launched.

All the best to those at home, cheerio.

/s/ Bruce C. Hopper

Handwritten notes and stamps in the top right corner, including "Handwritten" and "Voice of America".

File

COPY

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Stockholm, Saturday morn.
April 4, 1942

Dear Colonel:

I have just listened to the Voice of America which comes every morning at 9:15, rebroadcast from London. It opens with Yankee Doodle, then the announcer says he will give news good and bad. Today he told of air battles in the Far East, of the loss of the Carrier Langley and how the Destroyer Perry went down with her remaining guns wide open. Then exciting details of the conversion of automobile plants to war production; and finally a contrast between Hitler's and Roosevelt's Easter messages to their troops: Hitler, "There is only one faith, Germany;" Roosevelt, "I urge you all to read the Bible." The close was again a swing into Yankee Doodle which in this outpost sounds like the buoyant and thrilling overture of America's history.

The program was highly effective, truthful, confident, and strong without bombast.

-2-

sounds like the buoyant and thrilling overture
of America's history.

"The program was highly effective, truthful,
confident, and strong without bombast. It gave
me a wave of nostalgia, of yearning for the uni-
form and to be where the stuff is hot. It's great
to have a country to fight for, as I realize now
so well during these lonely evenings, or in the
glow of the early morning light when I pace my room
waiting for Sweden to wake up and bring me warm
water."

May 15, 1942

MEMORANDUM**TO: Mr. Joseph Barnes****FROM: James R. Murphy**

Here is an excerpt which I have taken from a letter to Colonel Donovan written by a friend of his in Stockholm:

"I have just listened to the Voice of America which comes every morning at 9:15, rebroadcast from London. It opens with Yankee Doodle, then the announcer says he will give news good and bad. Today he told of air battles in the Far East, of the loss of the carrier Langley and how the destroyer Perry went down with her remaining guns wide open. Then exciting details of the conversion of automobile plants to war production; and finally a contrast between Hitler's and Roosevelt's Easter messages to their troops: Hitler, 'There is only one faith, Germany' Roosevelt, 'I urge you all to read the Bible'. The piece was again a swing into Yankee Doodle which in this output

In the final analysis, however, I am not at all sure that I am the exact man for the job. Contra, I am certain that Stampeder would make a hash of it; moreover, a rambunctious hustler probably would not rate the approval of the Minister who is the C.O. of the unit.

You will remember I had a last moment of query and hesitation in London. That may be explained by rising misgivings regarding involvement with eager amateurs, who bustle into and out of noiseless curtains; partly by the flattering boasts of Sir Orme Sargent, Bruce Lockhart and other friends in the Foreign Office regarding the need for old hands in Russia; partly also, because of an old soldier's yen for the colors when the ships roll to the starting flag; and probably, though unadmitted to myself, the factor of my wife, that I may not leave her too long.

These all disappear into the conception of the larger task. But I say, even after these ponderings, be wrong. It may be what I have outlined is not the job at all. If so, mea culpa.

This takes my warmest greeting to you, and to all the College at 25th and E. I will write David when this speaking spree is over.

Sincerely,

Bruce C. Hopper
Bruce C. Hopper.



is got. We know where we can get it, how to get it is the question. After all, we make "any with conviction that the barriers are not to be taken by storm; they can be pulled down, if one takes full cognizance of Sweden's special position between Norway and Finland. Sweden has created a psychological "Maginot Line," Maginot Lines are built to be captured. This one can be captured only through moral authority. Even a whisper of innocence would fail. One must be absolutely direct to gain these particular stakes.

In my mind, the stakes are the personal support of all Sweden for our cause, and the special confidence of the right men who know what is happening, and what is likely to happen, on the continent of Europe. I believe that if one can become established in moral authority, and can gain the confidence of the staff who alone possess the vital information, then the aggregate of concrete and authentic materials, as well as significant judgments, will in value far outweigh the sum total of all bits of military observation which might now find their way through the coal chute. From other friends, as well as from sources, additional information will come unsolicited.

In other words, it is my conviction that your representative here must wear a white toga. I realize there must always be a natural impatience at the slow pace to get on with the war purpose, and to conceive of strategy in terms of movements of wooden chessmen. One is so often struck by the fact that in the field the so-called wooden pawns are living beings that who think, sleep, and dream as we do. There must be a discipline called social strategy.

Also, in the desperation of war must desperate means be employed. I am not a fan of desperate means, in desperate circumstances. But as a historian I know that never have ends justified the means. Neither do the means condition, or often determine, the ends. Means are not merely instruments, but determinants as well. To attain noble ends the means must be noble. I believe that only noble means may be effectively used in the delicate balance of Sweden now.

That is the task as I see it. This is my first report to you on the subject, which, you will remember, was what Max you and I had in mind that last evening when I was leaving Washington. It is a big assignment, for there are currents in the air of Sweden which we must appraise with accuracy. I feel equal to the task, as I see the task, by temperament, training, and desire. I am always so grateful to you for sending me here to find my own way. I think I have found it, and hope that you also may find it good.

right speeches, - country, arms, democracy, etc. Then came the march back, each Nation to its own house. (The Nations are provincial groupings after the manner of the medieval Sorbonne). I, as guest of the Righter, fell in with the Norrlanders Nation, of which he is the Inspector; it is the largest of the thirteen, having some 600 members. At the feast which followed the French Minister, M. Cyr, and I were both called upon to speak. One Nation called on us, and made speeches. Later all the Norrlanders, with me in front rank under the banner, called on the Stockholm Nation. There I spoke again, and said that what we Norrlanders demanded was the privilege of first place in battle, which brought down the house. And so on, for two days and two nights, I talked myself hoarse, in students' rooms, in restaurants, and on the streets with the rising sun. One time the Swedes would be addressing and singing Finnish songs to Swedish-Finn students in uniform bent to return to the Eastern front; the next would be a similar performance for Norwegian students in black caps, enroute to a quite different front. That must be understood in America; Sweden yearns in her bowels for her two neighbors no matter what politics may be forced upon her by circumstance at any given moment.

I mention this Uppsala episode, one of several, to give you the flavour of Sweden now. Professor and student alike, they are hungering for the breath of America; as an audience they raise their voices as do the Stockholmers in the Strandavallen to devour the still uncertain sun after their six months of grey sky and long night. I seemed to represent friendship and understanding, the hearted American, their one vision of hope. Compassion for their torn emotions tended to reduce some of them to tears. I arrived back here emotionally exhausted myself, and sick for home, but with a new understanding of the possible historic significance of America's mission to Sweden now.

As for more formal affairs, I spoke last week before the American Society on Swedish business; subjects "The American People." I am to repeat that speech, and carry on with what I omitted, tonight in the home of Professor Linblom in Sannan. On May 11 I speak to a large public meeting under the auspices of the Institute for International Affairs, Stockholm University; subjects "America in Foreign Affairs." It may be that lectures have been of more than propaganda literature; if the word comes from the heart people will listen, that they won't read. Herschel approves of these activities, and he is as helpful to the last degree. His suggestions are always realistic and he is always happy to add that he regards me as effective support, - a little arm, he and I go together to Uppsala on May 16 as guests of the Faculty of the University, Uppsala.

Now to return to a definition of the task. We know what we want

after years of teaching international relations, to observe more intimately the attitude of home authorities toward diplomats at the end of the speaking tube in the field; our own government does not do so badly).

Of course, in such a small, national community as Sweden every foreigner is conspicuous. A professor "attached" to a Legation is inside a crystal bowl, existing through the public eye. I spoke in Uppsala toward midnight on Thursday; Stockholm had the details of the speech for breakfast Friday, along with items of personal manner. I felt myself back in Peking where the No. 1 boy could tell my wife just where I was in that labyrinth of streets, and the rickshaw scolie at the gate could find me at any appointed moment no matter how often I had changed my plans.

It may amuse you to know that I am sometimes charged in friendly banter with being an espion myself, of trying to get Sweden into the war, and, further, that I was chosen for such work because I carry a benign face. To which I always beam, and say: Yes, you can always tell a professor, but you must not tell him too little or he will give you a low grade.

I often see military officers, some on the General Staff. They pass me around with extreme cordiality. I have been careful not to disturb budding friendships by over-zealous questions. However, as a former pilot I have been able to discuss with them the technical aspects of war strategy. It takes time for them to know who is friend and who is foe.

My activities have included many after dinner speeches, at length, in private homes. This is not a one way street, either, for interesting bits come out in discussion and response. I know some influential businessmen, but my main work is in the University, folk of Stockholm, and I hope Uppsala now. Marshal tells me that Foreign Minister Guther is delighted to know that I am still acquainted with the professors, who, of course, rate high in Sweden because of the great respect for scholarship. Sweden is intensely civilized, with a high level of cultural attainment. One does not deal here with man-eating tigers from Lakodai, such as I did in Manchuria. I already have friendly access to certain notable persons of commanding integrity and influence, thanks largely to the confidence inspired by association with my eminent seminar colleague of recent years.

As guest of the "Rektor Magnificus" I spent from Thursday to Saturday in Uppsala last week to participate in the festival of ushering in the spring (Zaluzia (May Day)). The formal rite was the march at 9 p.m. of students from the market place up to the castle. They marched in silence, and with the newly donned white caps made an impressive scene, a river of white caps flowing up hill between the dark trees. The student officers made



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Stockholm, May 5, 1942

Colonel William J. Donovan,
Coordinator of Information,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Colonel:

After six weeks of acclimation I now venture to offer a considered judgment on the nature of the work here, - word from Joshua, so to say.

To supplement my answer to David's cable of April 24 I should report that I lived too long from hand to mouth under the "punitive organ of silence war" ever to confide my purpose to amateurs. Discretion accrues not from blind resolve alone, but from a sensitivity acquired only through experience. That applies to our Allies as well as some of our own. The person in question is a splendid chap, very earnest, and gifted with imagination for his particular work which he should do exceptionally well. Moreover, he is a rather keen judge of character. He seems to stand well with the British. But I have a different target.

Significant and valuable information exists in Sweden, but it is locked away in the breasts of those in master control of the country, those with decision making powers. The lower strata of officials know but little; in any case they are tongue-tied. Also there are non-government persons who, because of their long association with the continent either in business or otherwise, have simplified intelligence services of their own through and over the lines of war. These persons without exception are allergic to unauthorized foreigners, and to say the least are dark.

The situation, of course, merely reflects the wording of the strict Swedish law on espionage which is designed to prevent the unauthorized collection of information which may involve Sweden's relations with other states. The Swedish authorities are determined that Stockholm shall not become a whispering exchange. For those who do whisper, or who leak at all, in an unauthorized way, expulsion can be swift. Four Swedes have been expelled in recent years. You have doubtless noted the repercussions and the general situation when the affair of the 10 Norwegian ships, which have been fully reported by the Legation. (It is extremely interesting for me,

Utrikespolitiska Föreningen

vid Stockholms Högskola

anordnar

måndagen den 11 maj 1942 kl. 8 e. m.
i Stockholms Högskolas B-sal, Norrtullsgatan 2,

ett offentligt föredrag av

professor **BRUCE C. HOPPER**
vid Harvard University

som talar om

America in Foreign Affairs. Föredraget hålles på engelska språket.

Inträdesavgift 50 öre.

Medlemsar bfrtt.

2. I am working on the re-evaluation of the Anglo-Russian Alliance. When a second front is opened in Northern Norway it would seem to insure the war against a Nazi invasion, as Germany can not lightly turn any more neutrals into belligerents, especially that lump of the Continent which is Sweden. The focus of interest here is not on the words of the text, but on the oral conversations Molotov must have had in London and Washington regarding Russia's future frontiers to the West. A great deal is made of America's assumed devotion to the Stimson Doctrine. It is difficult to talk to Swedes on this question because Russia's occupation of Lappe was a threat; and the forced building by the Finns of a line from Hangö to the head of the Gulf of Bothnia was even more a threat. The railway connects with the line to the Swedish iron ore and on to the sea. Swedish intellectuals notions that Finland made a Baltic-White Sea frontier, but all emphasize the economic importance to the Baltic States of the Gulf of Bothnia, as Ålborg was a center for timber, shipping, and hydroelectric power.

... to the fact that the Bolsheviks will accept strategic
... for abandonment of world revolution. It is, to my knowledge,
... the Bolsheviks have ever made with a foreign power. Taking them
... historically, is the not necessary to discern the revolution.
... it means a shift in the balance of power technique.
... with the weaker combination, as in centuries past,
... the continent. That Britain can do with the backing
... in the world against the possibility of
... intelligent Britain's found that possibility.
... to "then we put it this way." We are willing to
... but not a poor revolution." Calling in the
... the balance this time has portions which we can not
... many points of view I am happy, as a
... from the relative only of Sweden. My
... might conceivably make me more serviceable
... about office.

...and mother, like Alinda, who had 20 years in
...and I exchange views on the Russian
...placed in the popular face of Russia
...the school text books. Just now a bill has come
...and Alinda pending retirement from the foreign
...American-Arctic-Russian Agreement. I wish,

Answer
Bill Marlowe
In Captive Countries.

First we crown Hitler, with a pot of lead,
Goring's funeral uniform just wrap around his head,
Pin back his ears, that Gothic way,
Then give the works to Ribbentrop:-
By work on Ribbentrop,
We 'll have the Nazis stopped '.

As German-Swedish coal-iron exchange thus has dwindled in proportion to Germany's failure to deliver coal to her ports for shipment to Sweden. The Swedes refuse all blandishments; they will not deliver iron except against coal. As a result to the forests now, to insure as great as possible wood supply for next winter.

...often wish I were a bombing pilot again. It seems to me it ~~is~~ would be more effective to go to hit the transport centers, and even the locomotive plants, than to keep after the production plants. That is, the efficiency of disruption would be higher, I should think. That may wait on our air campaign over Germany.

2. Yesterday I had for lunch a Dane who now has a price on his head. He reports that the inner front in Denmark is stronger than ever. The Danes ignore the Germans; they see right through them without recognition. Even the 90% of the Danes except the Nazis. The other 98% of the Danes sell their own people's humor by whistling the popular German song "Lili Marleen," for which Danish words have been adapted quite uncomplimentary to the Germans. In a fit of ebullency I dashed off for my visitor a variation on the song, in English, in American slang, and gave it to him to pass along. He did not; he left Shakespeare at his last. He says, further, that of course the Hitlerites control and infiltration (the army, the Gestapo, and the police) not one has succeeded in winning the Danes to anything. The Danes are generally stupid. And, as for the army of barren folks the Danes are pathetic and dirty human scums in unkempt uniform; not one of them has not killed the ladies on "Inter dan Linder in years ago." He says, in relative to German treatment of other captives, "The Danes are the only ones who are not 'The Danes' in Germany."

visit is so much more so that Christian Keller, chief
of the party, is expected to London in a small boat, thence to London,
and to be seen on the 10th. Keller is evidently in consideration, next to the king,
and, in fact, is the most important person of the socialist movement in
Germany. He is a member of the party, and has the stamp
of a man of letters; he is the loyalty of students
and the loyalty of the party. The visitor hopes that he
will be able to see him, and to see him in a more intimate way, and to see him in a more intimate way, and to see him in a more intimate way.

More and more the question is asked: What chance for peace if Hitler disappears. It is openly said that a Hitler regime would be torn out by the Army, even though Hitler now has agents throughout the Germanic system. The common folk have no hate for Britain or America, as our two countries have not caused the loss of many German lives as yet. They do hate Russia because nearly every family has sons or brothers buried on the road to Moscow, Leningrad and Rostov. The older people, not particularly involved with careers, have but one hate, - for Hitler and his works. Despite this obvious longing for peace, nothing is expected to happen in the way of a break within Germany this summer. There is a wait-in see psychology, hoping for the best if the Red Army is incapacitated, as is ardently expected.

I have complained about the slowness of eminent Swedes to open up, and am advised to have patience, that everything is going right for me, as fast as can be expected in the circumstances. When I suggest that maybe I won't stay in Sweden I am told: For God's sake, don't leave Sweden; things will most likely be not this autumn, and if anything happens it will most likely happen this autumn, and we would like some one around we have come to know and trust.

June 23 is Mid-Summer eve, a festival. I am taking a quick dash to Dalacarla for the day, mostly to see some Swedes whom I have not been able to see in Stockholm. On June 26 Herschel I go south to spend the night with Lee Sager, formerly of the diplomatic service, and then on to Göteborg to visit our Consul General, William Cersoran.

Best in the world to you, Colonel! I am eager to hear about the reorganization.

Cham
Bonne C. H.



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Moskheim,

June 18, 1942.

Colonel William J. Donovan,
X American Embassy, London,

My dear Colonel:

It is very pleasant to think of you just across the North sea, as I am prompted to dash off a quick report in the form of a letter; it has the advantage of privacy which I have come to value more than secrecy.

One of my sources (who came to dine with me alone last night) believes (with recently acquired reasons) that the Germans will not attack along the whole line of the Eastern Front, but will concentrate on cutting the Kermansk railway, and on smashing through to the Caucasus for oil. Granted that the oil would not gush again at Baku for six months, they still must go through. Very few troops are left in France, Holland, Denmark, etc. They do not take the second front talk seriously, not even in Norway. Therefore, they leave only unfit, second line troops in the West, and give full attention to Russia. Also, as I cabled you, the danger of Rommel reaching Suez, thus breaking the blockade, is much more real than seems to be realized in Britain, judging by the news from Libya. Such a break through to Suez might gain Germany a full year as further grace, as Italy would then resume active participation in the war.

In Germany the generally feeling seems now to be much more hopeful than it was in March. That might be partly explained by the human response to the coming of warm weather after the miseries of the winter. The food is atrocious; only at Herker's is it passing fair, but terrifically expensive. The public is fed daily on detailings -ed accounts of submarine sinkings, balanced against American building of ships. It is evidently believed that America will be immobilized by the 100 submarines in operation. The wiser Germans, especially the businessmen, admit that counter-submarine devices are bound to develop, and that a world war can not be won by submarines any more than it was the last time. However, even the wise ones take comfort in their thought that in any case both Britain and Russia will be as exhausted as Germany, leaving Germany a potential hegemony on the Continent. America is expected to be obliged by pulling stakes and going home once more.

Afternoon, June 25, 1942.

Colonel:

It occurred to me today that one solution might be for me to sit down here, sending little or nothing except items of immediate significance (which the Minister rightly insists must be vetted by our Military Attaché), and taking a flying trip to London, say, once a month or so. For instance there seemed to be no way for me to spell out in State Department language, which seems evidently must be, the heavy emphasis I personally placed on the information I transmitted to you from inside Germany regarding the Swes, that the bombing of Lubek, Cologne, etc, while spectacular, would not effect the outcome of the war, whereas defense of the Ruhr was of absolutely first importance. You may remember, I cabled that there were no signs whatever of intention to invade Britain, but every sign of intention to break out of the blockade. It was over a month ago that I sent that. And now the fall of Tobruk, and the significance of the probable loss of control of the Eastern Mediterranean, burst upon the world. I hark back to this merely to indicate that despite the barriers all indicated in the first part of this letter, some of my sources have been first rate.

I unexpectedly had for lunch today another source, my kinsman chap from Eastern Europe. With him was to come an insider from over the River Styr, a member of the ruling group, who is evidently playing a dangerous role of shattering between the various Axis leaders of the host and the leader of the Russian national "Yem-Che", in its German form. The talk was to be Thermidorean. However, he became involved, and could not shake loose from those who love him. I may see him later, tonight. Naturally, I shall have to keep my ears pinned back in such dynamic company, and use a long quill to sip sherry.

Otherwise, here are a few sultry items. Civil war is expected in Germany, France, and Italy, when the United Nations are victorious, and it is hoped that American troops will police the Baltic, it being assumed that merely a few detachments would be sufficient to serve as ~~guard~~ against a Russian tidal wave. Manerheim is said to have begged Hitler for food, as Finland could not carry on operations without food; Hitler promised food, but Manerheim would not promise troops for an offensive, saying he would have to see after the food found its way to Finnish stomachs. In general, the Finns within recent months seem to have recovered their former position, and now no longer rely on German victory. Meanwhile, Hitler's headquarters have moved south on the Eastern front. The Hitler legend inside Germany has been fading since the failure at Moscow last November, no matter what its tie-up with Japan's assault on Pearl Harbor. Hitler now has his personal killing organization, parallel to Himmler's. More later, perhaps.

My informant says that while it may not be so important now there will soon be an absolute necessity for us to have some one here outside normal diplomatic responsibility. Well? *Chase, June 25, 1942.*

working directly for you in London with GIL, or in Washington, or on a temporary State Department assignment. What is intolerable is this fact, that, being inside the club, but not a member, and subject to the hostility and inferiorities which spring from being non-descript, neither official nor unofficial as a professor.

Unless you can reason through some solution, involving a label and a function, I suggest that I carry on during the summer, given you strength to see if I can establish a power position by sheer personal usefulness to the Legation, without sanction. If that dead pan attitude does not prove fruitful then I believe I might well be used more profitably elsewhere.

I am terribly sorry to throw this into your lap, Samuel. It may be that, as my Swedish friends imply, only patience is required. As long as you understand I ^{should} not mind. I know Lillie would help me find the way, but I begin to give up hope, knowing that many wives must be pestering the government. I want so hard to do my share in our period of history, - my powers, if ever I had any, are at their peak.

Best always, and cheers to you and GIL.

3

military horsepower of the various belligerents at the end of hostilities. I have very intimate personal relations with the Minister, without intimacy with the political affairs of the mission, either incoming or outgoing materials. The personal predicate to that is an element of frustration, and the realization that I have not made a scope commensurate to my age, level, training, and presumed capacity.

During these months I have maintained a wait and see policy, to allow time to overcome instinctive suspicions. The mystery around me seems to thicken, rather than dissipate (as I am told by Swedish friends). There is the assumption that a Harvard professor could not be an "attaché" without having a special mission, perhaps apart from that of the Minister.

It may be that merely a label of some sort for me would clear the air both inside and outside of the Legation. As it is I feel like a warrior who has long prepared for battle only to find himself in the guardhouse when the bugles blow.

3. Just what the proper solution would be I don't exactly know, except that clarification is necessary. The alternatives seem, to me, to be:

A. Frank acceptance of the necessity and usefulness of a long range task, to gain confidence of official Sweden in me as a person, so that I shall be on hand in Sweden when the break comes across the Baltic. That would require a label.

B. Authorization as a political observer, with a definition of the function, so that I may find materials where I may find them, with the sanction if not the blessing of the Legation.

Incidentally, I have used my private code but twice, to keep in practice. Cables and letters are submitted and approved. In any case my code will remain inviolate against future emergencies when the Legation itself might find it useful.

As I have stated, in both cables and letters, I believe there is a job to be done in Sweden; there is wisdom here, and experience, in the seats of the mighty. And, with Effie here, a happy American household for entertaining food and thought hungry Swedes might serve our cause in a way beyond measurement. From the point of view of personal qualifications to serve in the ultimate settlement, having preserved a balance of mind, and a compassion for all suffering Europe and America, I might conceivably be in the exact niche. For that I could have infinite patience, provided it was thoroughly understood by you and our government. On the other hand, being what I am, and eager for participation, I long for the role of holding up my head as an officer on active duty, or

2. Within such a framework, dictated by local circumstances, what can be the function of the representative of the Coordinator? That needs clarification. Jensen's job is specific; he is straight supplement to the Legation's Press Section.

I believe the Minister would accept the function of the Coordinator's representative, if he were informed officially what the function is, or might be.

The diplomatic function is an attribute reserved to the office of Minister. Military information is the prerogative of the office of Military Attaché (Colonel Waddell, who has been here for years). Economic information, and kindred matters, adhere to the office of the Commercial Attaché. Propaganda, per se, stems from the Press Section. These functions, in so far as possible, are not allowed to impinge on each other; the coordinator is the Minister.

For me there wasn't even a Hobson's choice, as there was no other horse registered in the stable. So I conceived of an additional function, political observer to supplement the Minister's work by reaching influential non-official people outside the normal diplomatic intercourse. Meanwhile, I have tried to be cheery and bright; have tried to spread an infectious good will and win friends for America; have done a fair amount of public speaking, and private group speaking, etc., all the while discussing with all who came the broad problems of reconstruction in peace time, etc.

After two months of acclimation I submitted to the Minister a program of consultations with selected key men, either with influence or with decision making power, which I had drafted in the form of a cable to you. The Minister very rightly pointed out that the State Department would strenuously object to such procedure, as there would always be the danger that such talks would be taken by the Swedes to mean policy-making, while naturally we don't know what American policy is, or might be. In my own mind the method would have been merely an approach to gain confidence, which is so hard to win in this encircled neutral country. The cable was therefore killed. For weeks I have been relatively inactive for that reason, as I can not represent the government in a diplomatic way, nor risk representing Harvard as a student without also risking misrepresentation of the government.

Thus the two stools between which I might fall: I have neither the authority of the diplomatic status, with a function understeered by the Swedish government, nor the freedom of the professor on war emergency assignment. The role tends to simmer down to that of a quaint "attaché" at the end of the corridor, dreaming up Utopias, and working in a vague way for the best of all worlds which will come into existence without the slightest reference to the

Stockholm, June 25, 1948.

Colonel William J. Donovan,
 X American Embassy, London.

My dear Colonel:

It is still early morning, four o'clock. The white nights make it easier to be typing or reading than just lying about thinking. Hence this note. The Minister and I are leaving Stockholm tomorrow night to spend the week-end with Lee Sager (former diplomat with a Russian wife) at Malmsjö near Jönköping, thence onward Sunday night to Göteborg where we shall be guests of William Corcoran, our Consul-General, and attend a dinner arranged by the supporters of Britain and America on the West coast. Stockholm has been a fairly empty city for two days- the Midsummer festival. I was to go to Dalecarlia, but changed my mind at the last moment, hoping there might be some word from you requiring an immediate answer. This morning I should like, with the maximum frankness permitted by this form of communication, to say a few words more about working conditions here, so you will understand the alternatives.

1. First, it is necessary to understand the implications of Sweden's neutrality, and its bearing on the work of individuals in the diplomatic corps. You will remember that I came here to see what could be done, with the possibility that the excursion might prove to be a mere joy ride. You were good enough to give me the latitude to work the problem out for myself, which I appreciated very much. I have not rushed any body, and have tried to be content with the innocuous role of "astanhe", which in this title-conscious country provokes a knowing smirk.

There is, of course, an astonishing contrast between the commanding pattern of war emergency conduct in Washington and the relatively even tenor of normalcy within the ring of the neutral camp. It would not be too much to say that normal rules and normal prerogatives prevail over the emergency pattern here, in a way that would be difficult for you to imagine.

Second, the Minister, as a career diplomat of intensive training is the ideal type to represent a belligerent state in a neutral camp. He is a strict disciplinarian, and keeps all the reins firmly in the office of the Minister thus to avoid the loose and uncontrolled activities which have, at times, characterized other missions. He seeks to avoid everything, which might in any way be embarrassing to the Swedish government. Considering the hawk-like scrutiny constantly in focus from the opposite camp there is, actually, no other course for the head of a mission to pursue.

The common feeling, he said, was that Leningrad was an affair of the big powers and did not concern Finland, and therefore for Finnish troops to be involved in an occupation of Leningrad could only spell disaster. He added, however, that not all persons in the government felt this way, which is the way of the common people and the army in general.

In detail, he said, the people of Finland would be satisfied if the eventual boundary with Russia were to cut across the middle of the isthmus, thus removing the threat to Leningrad, but leaving Wiborg to Finland. Hence, in event of defeat of Germany, would not be a problem because Russia then need not fear for her control of the Eastern Baltic. However, there are several small islands along the coast of the isthmus which Finland could cede to Russia, as they are on the route to the mouth of the Neva. In return, and mostly for the sake of prestige, Finland would like to receive from Russia a slice of the barely inhabited part of Karelia, which would not endanger the Murmansk railway. The Russians, in fact, offered this strip to Finland in the autumn of 1939.

That sums up the story as given to me. I was very much impressed with this man. We spoke in French, but everything was clear. If I could tell you more about him you would see why I take it seriously. I asked him how many there were like him at home, - he simply spread his arms wide, indicating almost everybody. He took risks in coming to me, but would see no one else for obvious reasons.

Meanwhile, my other things are marching.

Cheers. Any hope for Effie if I

settle down for the duration?

*But always
James C. W.*

2. Since information must be the leit motif of the preparatory stage, the following comment is offered on propaganda. Radio is the only feasible medium just now. The Finns are not allowed to listen to the Russian radio, and wouldn't believe much of it any way. They do listen to the British broadcasts, but seem to consider the material poor (that is, our friends in Finland say so from the point of view of our cause). One of the complaints is that the London broadcast harps on the internal conditions of Finland, such as the shortage of bread, etc., which every Finn believes he himself better qualified to judge than a broadcaster in London. Secondly, the whitewashing of the Bolsheviks goes too far; however black the Nazis might be, it is not considered sound propaganda to grow angelic wings on the Bolsheviks just because the Red Army proves to be magnificently Russian in defense of Russia.

The following suggestions are made as to effective propaganda:

- 1) Keep the Germans and the Finns separate in idea; the Finns fighting a separate war, etc.
- 2) Keep up the hue and cry, with detailed information, on the subject of German cruel treatment of small nations, especially Norway, but also Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.
- 3) Explain the Nazi lebensraum plan of reducing small nations to status of suppliers of raw materials to Germany, while Germany will monopolize industry in Europe.
- 4) Show, by chapter and verse, that the German army is not invincible, e.g. in Russia.
- 5) Explain, with chapter and verse, the internal difficulties in Germany, regarding transport, manpower for industry, etc., to destroy the lingering belief in German victory.
- 6) Explain our economic potentials in the post-war period, and such matters as freer trade, currency standards, outlet for Finnish timber, etc.
- 7) Let Americans speak to Finland instead of British broadcasters; they long for the sound of the American voice which, to them, is the voice of God. It is suggested that a resumé of the American press might be broadcast from London once a week. Our friends in Finland would see to it that the hour would be known.

3. In reply to my questions about Russia my informant said that only a few officers ever did want to go beyond the pre-1939 line, that the troops in general were opposed, and that whole regiments had to be removed from the line because of the reluctance to advance. (He, himself, had nine months before Leningrad)



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Stockholm, July 1, 1942.

Colonel William J. Donovan,
X American Embassy, London.

Dear Colonel:

I realize that all thought is for the moment concentrated on the significance of events in Egypt. One can only wonder if that development just seemed more dangerous from this geographical area two months ago, or whether there is actually here a more delicate sensitivity to pending events because of the antenna into Germany. There are some items which I can neither cable or write. But I want to toss another balloon into the ether, hoping that a favorable wind will take it to you in London. Other items have not been rounded out for report, if you know what I am trying to say. (I simply do not know who reads these letters).

Today I was sought out by a chap from Finland, highly educated, and holding a good position. His story follows:

1. No matter what the appearances because of the Nazi controlled press, the Finnish people are still, and will continue to be, thoroughly democratic in outlook and sympathy. They are, however, frozen behind the ice-bound controls of information. They know nothing of the outside world except the information, favorable to Germany, which is allowed to come through by controlled radio or press.

The German grip on the government is tightened with every delivery of food and medicine, as these materials are granted only in return for further political concessions. The Finnish army, however, is eager for some kind of assurances from us which will support them in their eventual will to resist the German-controlled government. It is believed that preparation for that support must come through re-educating the Finnish people as a whole on the rightness of our cause, especially the American cause, from which they fear they might be divorced by the cruel exigencies of the war. They are intensely grateful that President Roosevelt did not ask for a declaration of war against Finland, and look to America as little people mid-way between purgatory and the permanent fires of hell. Their hope, therefore, is to find a way back, with our grace. This may be considered, I suppose, as a message from the Army, at least from that large section of the officers corps who represent the feelings of the common soldiers.

Happ 22 4523 a
X Sweden

at home and abroad is to be fearless in frankness, unrestrained in generosity, and genuine and warm in our friendliness. We must be prepared to have that American way misunderstood, and even maligned.

And yet if we, as a nation, consider ourselves as flies which have escaped from the bottle of spiritual imprisonment, to fly around in the sunlight, then we can truly enjoy that spiritual emancipation only by helping other people also to escape from their bottle prisons.

Along with our Allies we are proving that free people, given time to prepare, can fight and die. We have yet to prove that we can be free from hate in victory, that we can transcend the immediate issues of war and envisage the road to peace, that we can melt down the barriers erected by peoples not yet emerged from militant tribalism in order to demonstrate that they, too, have the innate capacity to enjoy the Four Freedoms.

For this enormous historical opportunity, which we have in common especially with our Motherland Britain, we Americans should be profoundly thankful.

The stakes of this war, therefore, are not merely strategic boundaries between nations, but the right to influence the pattern of this "conscious transformation" of world life, of all mankind. We believe that the free peoples will lead the way in the transformation. Freedom and opportunity are co-terminous in their scope.

Incidentally, the epoch offers the greatest humanitarian opportunity ever presented to any people, to bring material and spiritual feed, and healing voices, to the demoralized and shattered peoples of Europe and Asia. This opportunity is being created by all who share in the common cause, the peoples of the United Nations, especially the Chinese and the Russians who die by the millions in defense of their soil.

III. Conclusion.

Finally, we as individuals share in this great enlargement of opportunity through science. It is our role, as individuals, to work to the end that the enlarged opportunity will be open to all mankind, so that in making the peace we shall not ipso facto sow the seeds of a Third World War.

As Americans we believe in freedom of the individual, in equality of right, and an enlarged opportunity for all; that is the American dream. We believe that our faith in that dream will bring us to a reconciliation between individual initiative and the type of social planning dictated by scientific advances, without the destructive periods which attend upon social revolution.

We do not believe in any doctrine of superman, whether by dicta, or by some mystic quality of race or blood. Contra, we do believe that the condition of freedom endows man with certain super qualities, of tolerance, of forbearance, of compassion, and of generosity, which are the qualities ingredient to a better world.

To give meaning to our cult of freedom we must, as individuals, constantly give proof that we are worthy to spread the contagion of the American dream. As phrased in a bit of Scottish verse:

I must be true, for there are those who trust me;
I must be pure, for there are those who care;
I would be strong, for there is much to suffer;
I would be brave, for there is much to dare;
I would be friend of all, the foe, the friendless;
I would be giving, and forget the gift;
I would be humble, for I know my weakness,-
I would look up...and laugh...and love...and lift.

It is the lot of some, in preparing for that enlarged opportunity, to follow the flag in battle; it is the lot of others to bear the torch in more sequestered ways. But whatever our individual assignment, the true American way

-3-

thankful for the strength of democracy and the unswerving instinct for freedom in friendly Sweden.

6) There is something to be especially thankful for in 1942, and that is Britain. In the past Thanksgiving has been peculiar to America. This year the day is observed, of course, wherever there are American troops and sailors. The day is being observed in Britain, with the British people joining with us. In London alone there are three services now going on: in Westminster Abbey, in Westminster Cathedral, and in the Synagogue in Raynham. King George is host to American officers, the first Thanksgiving Day observance in Buckingham Palace. An unusual service is taking place in Plymouth, the home port of the Pilgrims, 1620.

We are thankful for Britain, Britain of Dunkirk, Britain of the Blitz, and Britain now; thankful for such a Mother country for whom we may gladly spend our strength. It means a flowing together of two streams, fed by the same springs of political thought, which, however divergent in the past, always remained of the same water.

We, with Britain, have a great and stirring and happy cause in history. I say happy, because it is a happy mission to bring freedom on our banners, and not a threat to enslave; happy because other peoples, especially small nations, know we bring freedom on our banners, and accordingly trust us. It may be that other peoples expect more than we can deliver. It may be that we have not the wisdom to untangle the skein of European hatreds. But to know that we are trusted gives confidence that we may, in time, acquire wisdom. In the words of Professor Whitehead, our beloved teacher of philosophy at Harvard, who came to us from England, it will require that traditional statesmanship be infused with dramatic novelty.

We live on the eve of portentous events: the third great enlargement of opportunity in modern history.

The first was the discovery of America, attendant upon the discovery of a new technique in navigation. That opened a new world to absorb the energies of Europe.

The second great enlargement of opportunity was the industrial revolution, beginning in the middle of the 17th century, which magnified man's power over things and made the modern world.

The third great enlargement of opportunity is hovering on the horizon now, and will burst upon us when hostilities cease. It is an enlargement of opportunity attendant upon the tremendous advance of science all along the line, from medicine to flying, to television, etc. This time, as noted by Professor Whitehead, the advance is not dependent upon a single invention, such as gunpowder or printing; it embraces every activity on the scale of man's enormous activity, making for the largest epoch in history.

The

of the merchants who, with some justice, wanted to lengthen the period of Christmas shopping. Some states of the Union obliged, and fixed the date accordingly. But not New England. A great row went up in New England, especially in Massachusetts. It was as though someone had attempted to scale the sacred oak in the State House. Governor Leverett Saltonstall, who himself rejoices in an honored Mayflower name, let it be known that in Massachusetts Thanksgiving Day would be as ~~glam~~ ~~our~~ ~~and~~ ~~new~~ ~~and~~ ~~overmore~~. Because of the confusion there were that year two Thanksgiving Days in America, much to the satisfaction of the turkey farmers and cranberry merchants. The following year President Roosevelt, with the good grace of which he is supremely capable, went back to the old calendar. All of which might indicate that Calvin Coolidge was right when he said (in one of his few known utterances): Have faith in Massachusetts!

II. This Year.

Our Thanksgiving Day this year is the most hopeful we have known since 1937, or even since 1930, the year before the Japanese seized Manchuria and thus made the first breach in the international security system. We are told that we have probably reached the turning point in the war. We can, therefore, be thankful as were the Pilgrims, and in the same sense. We are thankful:

1) For having survived the perils of disunity before Pearl Harbor, and thankful for the strength to meet perils still in store.

2) Thankful for our bursting barns which increasingly help to feed people in want all over the earth.

3) Thankful for the sinews of our rich soil and mines, and for the products of our factories, which enable us to contribute means of defense to the United Nations.

4) Thankful for our fresh, young manpower, which wells up like a sea in flood, fierce and implacable in its devotion to freedom. For that manpower, nourished in American soil, we must thank the nations of Europe which sent eager blood overseas to help fulfill the American dream.

To be truly thankful is to be humble. We must be thankful in true humility. We must not foolishly ascribe to ourselves virtues which, in fact, derive from historical circumstances, from climate and soil, from rich racial mixture, from geographical remoteness from European hatreds, and from other favorable factors to which every native is born, and which naturalized Americans acquire. We are free, yes, but we must never forget that we have always been blessed with the natural setting for freedom: space, resources, and mixed blood. These make the air of America free, and dictate tolerance in abundance. Without these attributes it is much more difficult to be free, as peoples elsewhere know.

5) Then, as happy guests in this country, we are

thankful

THANKSGIVING ADDRESS

Given by Bruce Hopper, of the American Lutheran
 Pastor Adolph Church, Stockholm, November 22, 1941.

I have been asked to say a few words of befitting brevity, appropriate to this occasion. I would not presume, of course, to tell Americans about America. We might, however, remind ourselves of the meaning of Thanksgiving Day in our history, and of its special significance to us this year.

I. The Day.

1. Mayflower Compact.

It is interesting, from an institutional point of view, to note that as the Mayflower approached the relatively unknown American shore the Pilgrims at board realized they had made no provision for government. Accordingly, they drew up the celebrated Mayflower Compact by which all agreed to "submit to such government and governors as (they) should by common consent agree to make and choose." These famous words, stemming from the political ferment in the minds of Englishmen in the early 17th century, became, in time, the very and veef of the American dream: a land of freedom; a land of equality of right; a land of enlarged opportunity, governed by the consent of the governed.

2. The First Thanksgiving Day.

It is also useful to remember the accounts of the first Thanksgiving Day, 1621, after the unspeakable hardships endured the first year. As God-fearing English folk the Pilgrims gave thanks to God for having survived the perils of the Indian savage in the forests around Plymouth. And they were thankful for the blessing of a good harvest, insuring their survival during the ensuing winter.

3. Subsequent Observance.

Subsequently a day of Thanksgiving was proclaimed at odd times by the various colonies, and later by the governors of states. It remained for President Lincoln in 1863 to appoint the last Thursday of November as the day to be observed by all. It became a day of prayer and family reunion. In the long time when we were a poor country Thanksgiving was also a day of badly needed feasting, at the end of the working season on the farms. More recently the feast has been a means to make the family glad to get together.

There was one attempt (1940) to change the date of Thanksgiving from the last Thursday in November to the next to the last, one week forward. That was done at the behest

of

Hopper, Bruce 432: A
A. Sweden

THANKSGIVING ADDRESS

Given by Bruce Hopper, of the American Legation

Gustaf Adolph Church, Stockholm, November 28, 1948.

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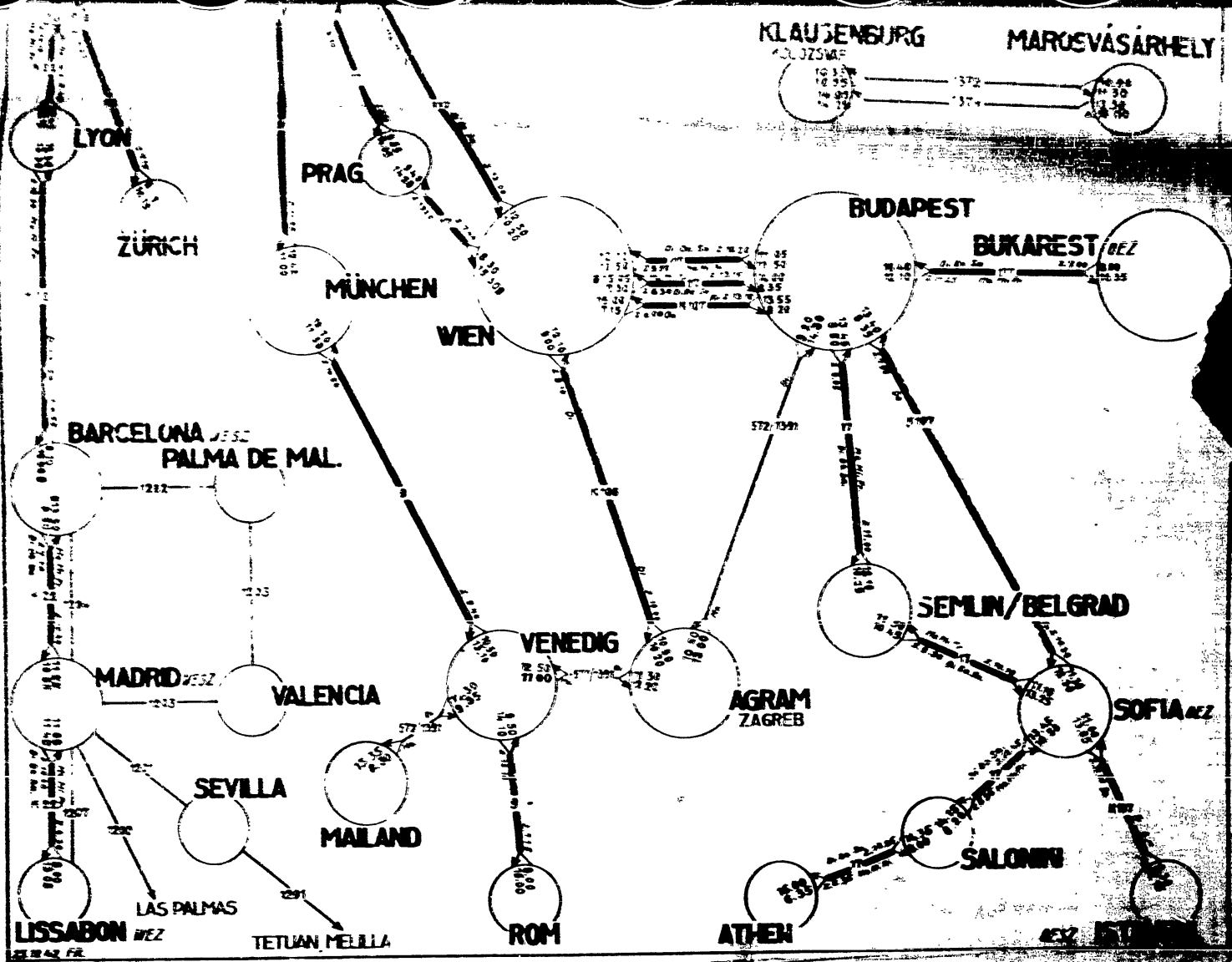
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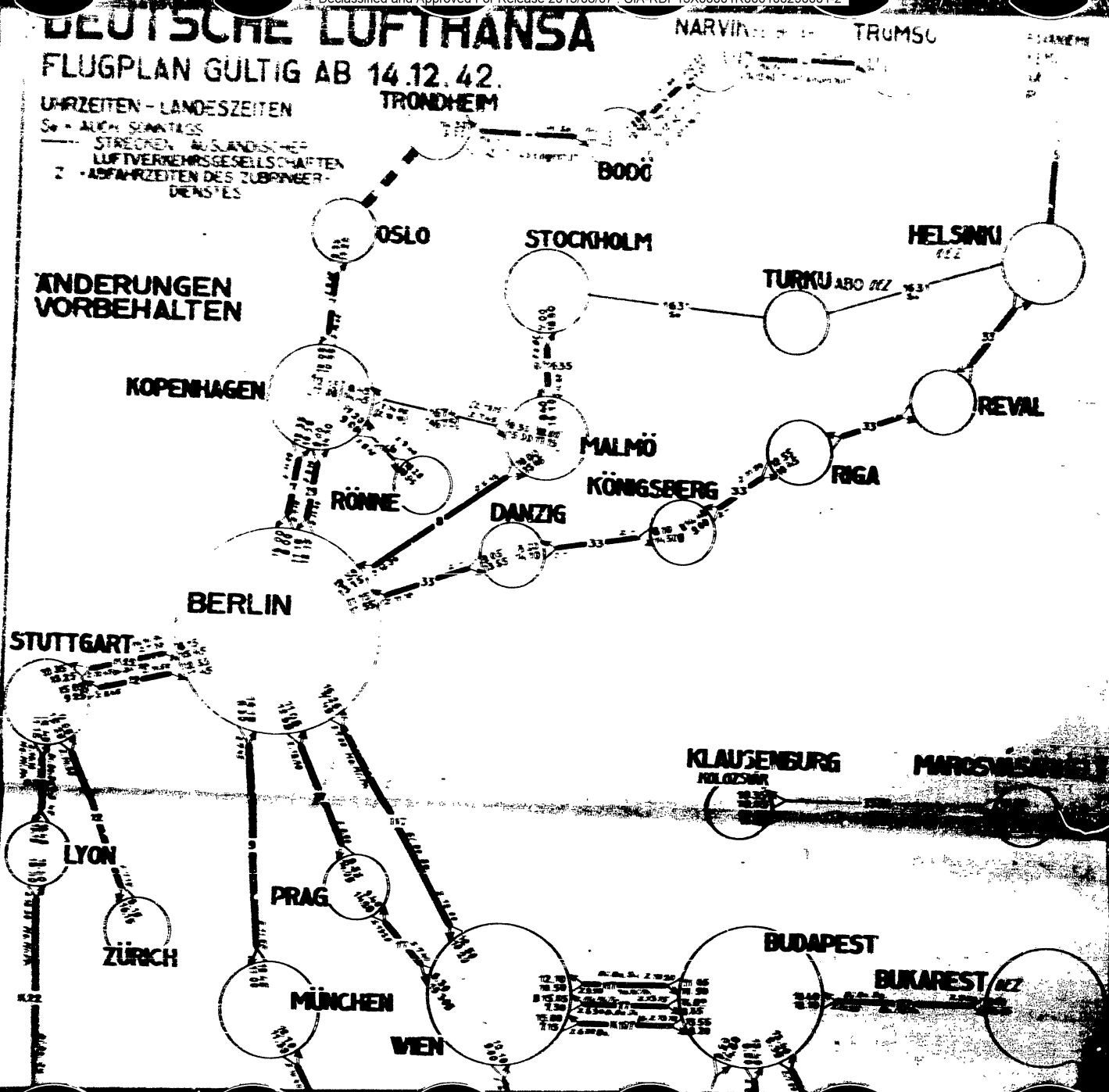
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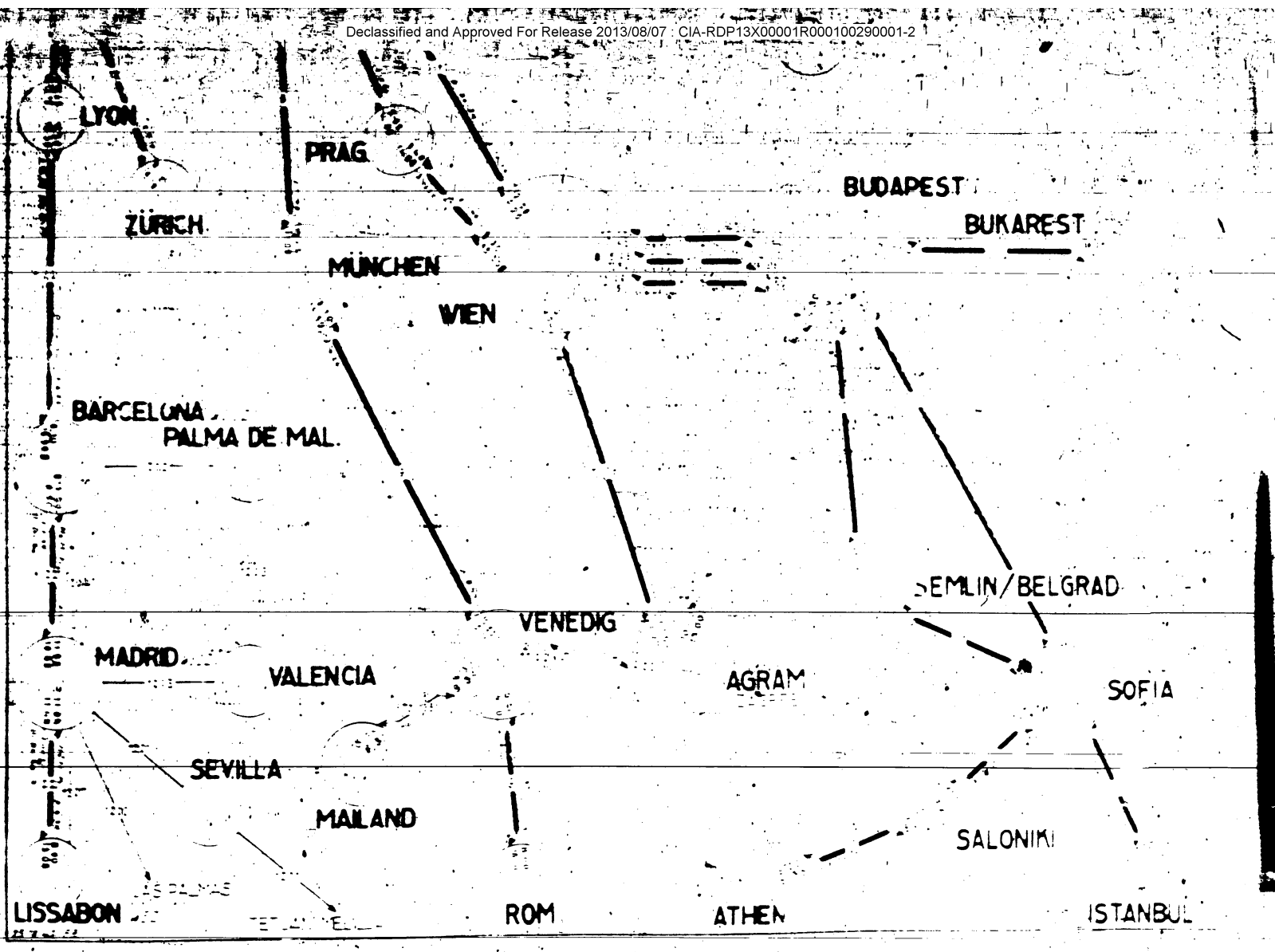
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2. ABFAHRTZEITEN DES ZUBRINGER-
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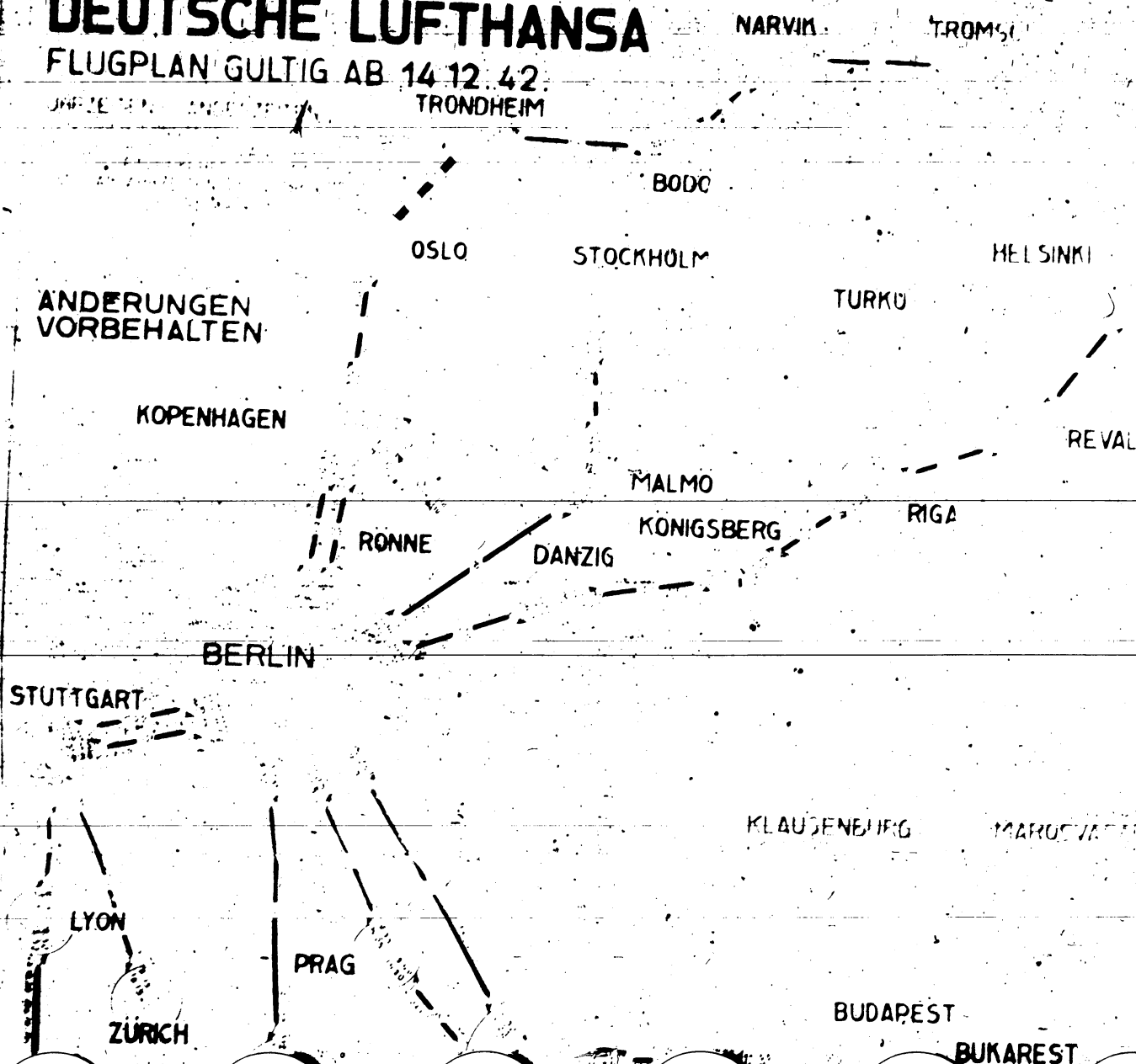




DEUTSCHE LUFTHANSA

FLUGPLAN GULTIG AB 14.12.42

ANDERUNGEN
VORBEHALTEN



~~MODIFIED BY~~
Stockholm - Sweden
December 16, 1942

For Colonel William J. Donovan,
O. S. S. Washington, D. C.

Latest Flying Schedules in Custody,
Valid from December 14, 1942

for use

Bruce Hopper

College Street #125 B
** Fly up schedule*
** Wedeneyer*
** 10000 1000*

December 31, 1942

Brigadier General A.C. Wedeneyer,
Room 3 E 784,
Pentagon Building,
Arlington, Va.

My dear General Wedeneyer:

✓ From one of our men in Stockholm, Sweden, we have received the enclosed map showing the latest flying schedules on the Continent.

I thought you would like to have this.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan
Director

the real fight. Her parents are joined in a mutual conviction to protect their children. This conviction is a fountain of strength in further hard struggle. The parents are grateful to each other for this conviction, a feeling which is strengthened by a remark by one who has suffered greatly in connection with the resistance against the Youth Service. "If I had ten lives I would gladly lay them down to protect our young people from becoming like those who are our war-gods."



The appeal had been effectively spread. On the Friday morning people in one part found four different copies of their letter boxes. It was spread through the most wonderful variety of channels, and great imagination and ingenuity was used. But with the difficulties of communication in occupied Norway it was not possible to reach every family in the country.

One old lady, an old fighter for the vote, was very indignant because only parents were supposed to write, "it is the business of the whole people, I will not be left out of it". And so, for her own benefit, she started a movement "votes for grandmothers". And she wrote to the minister saying that she refused to let grand-children be regimented.

The action was important not only because it told Quisling clearly where he stands.. The importance for those who wrote to protest is no less. They have given their pledge to fight

Declassified and Approved For Release 2013/08/07 : CIA-RDP13X00001R000100290001-2

next week came the teachers' refusal to be members of the new organization. And in the first two weeks of March the alliance came with the parents' protests. In February and March as a whole will probably remain in the minds of Norwegians as the most glorious time of their lives - the Norwegian people, which as the whole and in general there are very few exceptions, developed into a race of letter-writing constitutionalists.

Immediately after February 1 Lindling went to Berlin to wait on Hitler. He then reported to the German press something the N.S. leaders had been constantly saying in spite the fact that the whole people had demonstrated by signing names since as where that the opposite was the case. He said that the Norwegian people was solidly behind him, except for an insignificant minority in the pay of London. It is the last time any Nazi leader has mentioned the "insignificant minority".

The Youth Service act was to come into force on March 1. The people had a vivid sense of gratitude to the teachers and teachers for the stand they had taken. They were grateful for the lead that had been given, but felt that this was not enough, a wider manifestation of opinion was needed. And the way was found. And afterwards democracy patted itself on the back for being able to use shock tactics.

On Tuesday March 5 the first few copies of an appeal to parents came into circulation. It was suggested that they should write to one of the appropriate ministers and say that they refused on grounds of conscience to let their children take part in the National Youth Service, and post it in the afternoon of Friday the 6th or as soon after as possible. The parents' response was magnificent. On Saturday 7 the two ministers received 40,000 letters; and during March the 200,000 mark was passed.

Of these 200,000 letters a considerable number had lists of signatures. In some cases the inhabitants of a whole block of flats, or of a whole parish or all the workers of a factory sent a joint letter with all their signatures. This brings the total of protesters well above 200,000. But exact figures are not accessible to Norwegian patriots. Protests to the number of between two and three hundred thousand do not perhaps look overwhelming at first sight. But on closer scrutiny the number is impressive. The population of Norway is under three millions. The country has 225,000 families with children. Thus at least 90 of these who were entitled to an opinion, took the trouble, and the risk of sending their letter.

The whole action was not a mass movement. It was individualistic, but it was concerted individual action. For in a question of conscience everyone is utterly alone, and cannot shift either the risk or the responsibility to others. But, as one mother said, "I haven't be afraid." Both fathers and mothers were men. Most letters were signed by both parents. But it is not incorrect to say that the mothers were keener, and put a burning energy into making the protest go through. For the safety of those concerned it is not possible to give full particulars. The whole story cannot be told till after the war. But some details can be told.

In tactics the Norwegian people proved to be Hitler's apt

pupils

7. Colonel [unclear] Norway
from [unclear]

FREE PLEBISCITE IN NAZI-DOMINATED NORWAY

Dictators have been known to demonstrate that they have the support of the entire population, whether this be a fact or not. They held plebiscites to prove it, such as Hitler did in Austria. Hitler asked for a plebiscite in Poland, but when the Germans invaded Norway on the 9th of April 1940, they let Hitler proclaim himself leader. This made it clear that the occupation of Norway was to have not only a military, but also a political character. Quisling was temporarily put aside by the action of the Supreme Court, which named a local administration to be established in the "Administration Council". After the capitulation in June rumors began to circulate about plans for a new Constitution. It was clear that the Germans could not allow the fairly legal state of affairs to continue.

One foreman that there would be an engineered plebiscite, by which the Norwegian people would be asked to give its consent to whatever form of government Hitler proposed. Politically alert groups began to prepare public opinion for action in the case of a plebiscite. One foreman the possibility that the voters might be asked questions to the following effect: "Do you want: A Quisling administration, or: a German Protectorate?" A German protectorate was felt to be the lesser evil, but one could not answer that question in the affirmative. In the eventuality of alternative questions the possibility was discussed of answering by a third alternative of one's own, such as: "King and Constitution". Propaganda also went on to stimulate people against the methods of intimidation that were to be expected.

As it turned out, Hitler's man, Reichskommissar Terboven, did not take a plebiscite. On the 8th September 1940 he established a government of Quislings, though he had sufficient cunning to avoid including Quisling himself. Quisling was not put at the head of the administration till February 1, 1942.

The opinion of the Norwegian people was not asked. Possibly the Nazis did not dare. But in May 1942 the Norwegian people gave its opinion without being asked. A real plebiscite was held, not on the initiative of the "government", but on the people's own initiative. It was a really free plebiscite, the only known case of a free plebiscite under dictatorship. Though it was an overwhelming manifestation of public opinion, with a staggering effect upon the Quisling ministers, the event received little publicity. It was such a natural thing to do that one hardly talked about it. The full story can of course not be published while Norway is in Nazi hands, but it can be told in part.

On February 1, 1942 Quisling was made "Minister President". The first act he issued on February 7 provided that all Norwegian children between 10 and 18 should be compelled to join the Nazi youth organization, through what was called "National Youth Service". This act was followed by another establishing a compulsory teachers' organization, through which the teachers should, among other things, be compelled to co-operate in this work.

The nation was at first staggered, but was then swept by a spirit of outrage, where the bishops' protest to Skarcke, Minister of Church and school affairs, was the first landmark. The

next

have proclaimed their solidarity. The N.S. authorities threatened to sack the teachers for what they have done to protect our children against the N.S. regimentation. We parents can neither be dismissed nor sacked. Now it is up to us to do our bit to protect the children.

From the information given in the press on February 8 by the Ministers Stang and Skancke we see that "National Youth Service is compulsory like school attendance." Further that the "law is to be put into effect in a sensible way, according as conditions make it practicable and desirable, and to begin with only for certain districts and age groups. In some parishes in the country work will be started during the first days of March."

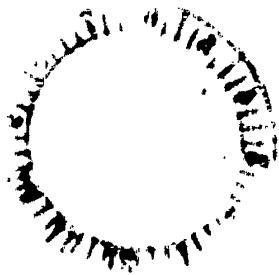
Parents in the towns may feel it as a relief to hear that they are going to start in the country. But if we do not prepare the resistance in any other way than by refusing to let our children go when the order comes, we may be taken by surprise because we are taken singly. The work is sure to begin in parts where N.S. has a relatively strong hold, and where resistance will be exceedingly difficult because of individual isolation. If the traitors have got the thing properly started somewhere, it will be more difficult to start resistance later, also because the N.S. Youth leaders will have gained some experience. The single isolated parishes, which will come in the front line, have a right to the support of all the country's parishes. We can and should give this support to each other in advance, by sending letters -- from every home where there are children -- to either of the Ministers Stang or Skancke, saying:

"I do not want my children to take part in the N.S.U.F. Youth Service, as my conscience will not allow of the education of children on the lines on which plans for the Youth Service have been drawn up." (or in some other form).

Thousands of such letters will show that we parents are joined with church and school to protect the nation's children.

Letters should bear the full name and address of sender, and be posted no earlier than the afternoon of Friday, March 8.

THE COUNTRY EXPECTS YOU TO DO YOUR DUTY.



NAME
DISTRICT NAME.

NAME OF SCHOOL
IN THE DISTRICT.

N.S.S. YOUTH SERVICE AND THE PARENTS.

On February 8 Quisling signed the act about compulsory youth service in the N.S. Youth Organisation (N.S.Y.) for all Norwegian children between 14 and 18. This shows that to effect a compulsory mobilization of our children in order to inculcate their ideas in them, it is possible to do it. But by N.S. that it is the first social task they take up after Quisling's installation. During the first days many parents said: "This is terrible, but for the sake of the children themselves we suppose it is not possible to resist, for vengeance is sure to hit the children. And then our children are much stronger and Norwegians that they will manage to resist the influence for the short period this is going to last." But even we hope that the war will soon be happily ended, we have no guarantee that the period will be such a very short one. And experience with children in general, and especially of the German youth service proves this to be a very dangerous way of reasoning.

On February 16 all the bishops sent a protest against the youth service on behalf of the church. The Catholic bishop in Norway, and all Christian organisations have joined in this protest.

On February 20 and the following days thousands of teachers sent individual letters where they refuse to be members of the new teachers' organization, and refuse to cooperate in an education of Norwegian youth along the lines drawn up for N.S. Youth Service, as this would be against their conscience.

The last few days we have heard parents say: "We won't let our children go, when the Youth Service order comes". But little by little an increasing number are saying: "Oughtn't we to do something active, to protest? But it is so difficult, as we parents have no organization." The answer to that is that neither did the teachers have any organization: they had no committee, no elected representatives who could take the initiative, no opportunity to hold meetings. Each individual teacher made up his own mind, and wrote his own individual letter. For mutual protection letters were posted at the same time, so that two thousand letters arrived on the first day.

On February 24 the professors and teachers of the University, about 150, protested against the Youth Service.

The bishops have been temporarily dismissed. The

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As Swedish ports could be heavily choked up at a rate of between 800 and 1,000 tons a day except at the Stockholm Sea Breeze where up to 4,000 tons a day can be handled.



the quantity available for export. According to an agreement reached between the Government and the pulp industry the quantity of pulp to be delivered for domestic consumption during the period from 1, 1941, to May 31, 1942, amounts to approximately 200,000 metric tons. As a result of the strike during this year the original quantity was reduced to about 100,000 tons, of which 100,000 tons are to be delivered in lots to avoid the shipping of too large quantities. As shipments were of divergent quantities as to the freight rates, the State Traffic Commission fixed the rates to be applied, according to which, for example, the rate for the route between the Sundsvall district and Norrtälje-Skellefteå was set at 14 crowns, Kalmar-Åre 15 crowns, Gäddede-Åre 15 crowns, and Västergötland-Åre 15 crowns, all per ton. These freights were far from satisfactory, being between 2 and 3 crowns per ton below those previously paid, for which reason little interest was displayed by ship operators. On a few occasions the State Traffic Commission has found it necessary to intervene and refuse to license ships for other employment than to transport cellulose fodder.

There have been limited shipments of wood pulp via the safe coast steamers to Latin America from Göteborg but this trade is now confined to Argentina. The export of woodpulp to Argentina was resumed in August on a rather modest scale. The freight rate is 250 crowns per standard.

Imported coal and coke, of course, represent an extremely important factor in the Swedish fuel supply, but deliveries have been considerably below the quantities stipulated in the Swedish-German agreement for 1942. The Germans were supposed to supply 4,000,000 tons of coal, 1,700,000 tons of coke as well as arrears from the preceding year amounting to 1,700,000 tons. By the end of July, however, Germany had supplied only 1,000,000 tons of coal and coke, which was 500,000 tons less than during the corresponding period a year ago. During the latter part of August and in September a substantial improvement set in and, provided that monthly deliveries of at least 500,000 tons can be maintained during the period August to December, the total imports for 1942 would amount to 4,000,000 tons. Another adverse factor is that larger quantities of less desirable qualities have been shipped from Westphalia during 1942. Moreover, the deliveries from the Hamburg-Polish range have been far from satisfactory. For these reasons many shipments have been made from Rotterdam, which is unsatisfactory to the shipowners because of the greater risk of mines and bombs. From Stettin-Baltic-Gothenburg, however, coal shipments from Upper Silesia recently have been particularly satisfactory and the shortage of tonnage has asserted itself to such an extent that the State Traffic Commission, in conjunction with the State Fuel Commission, has been forced to refuse license for certain outgoing shipments and also has ordered tonnage to return to German Baltic ports in ballast to carry cargoes of coal and coke. The shipments from Upper Silesia have improved in quality. The coal and coke freights are firm and, despite repeated efforts by the shipowners no improvement has been achieved.

supplement, the German merchant ships continue to be sent through tonnage which comes mainly to some extent to some advantage. Swedish auxiliary sailing vessels on the other hand, to a large extent have been utilized for small shipments but this class of ships has encountered great difficulties owing to the substantially reduced allocation of oil in Sweden, which for this year only amounted to 60 percent of last year's allocation. Therefore, it has been necessary for the ships to chiefly use their sails, running longer than for any voyage, and in spite of the fact that certain freight rates have been increased, the profits from such sailings have been extremely small.

Only in exceptional cases have there been shipments to Denmark in Swedish bottoms due to the fact that the Danish freighters (the Danish Shipping Board) has not been willing to accept Swedish tonnage owing to shortage of foreign exchange. For this reason most trade with Denmark has been carried by Danish tonnage and in a few cases by Swedish auxiliary sailing vessels. Some cargo has been exported to Norway and Swedish tonnage has obtained a basic rate of 125 Swedish crowns per standard from Helsingborg to Larvik. Rather large quantities of pulp wood have been shipped by Swedish tonnage, the latest basic freight having amounted to Reichs marks 44.50 per ton from Alingsås to Stettin. Some quantities of round timber also have been carried from the Gäddede/Vanadavik district to Stettin-Königsberg at a rate of Reichs marks 16 to 20 per cubic meter, depending upon port of discharge.

Swedish exports of wood pulp has decreased considerably during the year because of the large quantities of wood required in Sweden for fuel as a substitute for the decreased imports of coal and coke. Quantities sold to Germany amount to about 145,000 tons of rayon pulp, about 45,000 tons of sulphate pulp and about 20,000 tons of kraft spinning paper. These shipments, in general, have been carried by German tonnage, the freight for which are between 5 and 6 crowns cheaper than Swedish. For regular 50 foot dry wood pulp the freight has ranged from 21 to 25 crowns per ton to German Baltic ports and 26 to 30 crowns to German North Sea ports. For rayon pulp the freight have been 25 to 28 and 30 to 32 crowns, respectively. The amounts of rayon pulp sold to Italy have amounted to approximately between 100,000 and 150,000 tons which to a large extent have been shipped in Swedish and Finnish bottoms, the rates having been about the same as those previously mentioned. The ports of destination as a rule have been Hamburg-Bremen-Helgoland and Rotterdam. The freight to the two last-mentioned ports has amounted to 25 and 40 crowns, respectively. The rates for paper have amounted to 40 to 45 crowns. Only small shipments of wet pulp to Denmark have been made for which there have been paid 25 Danish crowns per ton from the Sundsvall district to Odense-Naestved.

Owing to the poor crop yields during the last two years there has been a substantial increase in the consumption of cellulose fodder in Sweden which has ranged

or beginning of June to the end of November or beginning of December, dependent upon the conditions. The largest ships, of those exceeding 2,000 tons to 2,500 tons, are used in the Baltic trade. Negotiations are being conducted with the Swedish-German trade agreement but during the course of the year they have had some slight changes owing to the developments in the Baltic since June 1st. For 2,000 ton ships there is paid at present in Germany, Baltic and North Sea ports 11.75 and 12.50 Swedish crown per ton, respectively, and to Rotterdam 21.50 crown. (Current market rate of exchange is 4.50 Swedish crown to \$1.00 U.S. currency). From Amsterdam the corresponding rates are 9.50 crown, 11.50 crown, and 22.50 crown, respectively. Shipments also take place from both Gdansk-Gdynia and from Gdynia and Vistula, but to a much lesser extent than from Lulea and Amulund. From the Sundsvall district, Gdansk, Stockholm and Gdynia certain quantities of coal and pyrites are exported and the rate for this commodity is the same as that for ore, with the exception of the Sundsvall district, from which area the freight is 0.50 crown lower than from Lulea. From the Stockholm district-Gdansk-Amulund and Gdansk some zinc concentrates have been exported and the freight has been about 47 crown, 48 crown, 44 crown, and 50 crown, respectively, per ton. The majority of the Swedish shipping companies have made contracts covering one or several steamers during the year, as the shipowners have found this engagement most profitable on account of comparatively good freights, prompt handling both in the ports of loading and discharge and also because so-called ballast supplements have been obtained, i.e. the shipowners have received certain compensation for sailing in ballast from a German port to Sweden when it has been impossible to obtain return cargoes of coal or coke or other freight. This ballast supplement for ships between 2,000 and 2,500 tons amounted to 1 crown per ton if the shipment was discharged in a German Baltic port and 0.15 crown if discharged in a German North Sea port, but subsequently these supplements were increased to 2.40 and 7.00 crown, respectively. Since orders were given by the Swedish Navy requiring ships to sail inside the Swedish 3 mile limits and at certain times to make use of the naval convoys, earnings have greatly deteriorated despite the freight increases obtained because of the necessity of making considerably longer voyages and on account of higher pilotage costs but, nevertheless, this trade has been the most profitable.

In the case of sawn lumber about 225,000 standards have been exported to Germany, (18,000 standards to Denmark, 20,000 standards to Holland, and 5,000 standards to Belgium. These shipments, except to Germany, were considerably less than during the preceding year, because of reduced allotments of foreign exchange in these countries. The freights for sawn wood have been fixed by the Swedish trade agreement with Germany. As Swedish tonnage has obtained considerably higher freights than German, viz., a supplement of Reichs marks 10 per standard to a German Baltic port and Reichs marks 20 per standard to a German North Sea port, as well as after June 1st an additional supplement of Reichs marks 2 to 4.50 per standard and also a ballast

supplement

To Colonel Darnley
 from *A. J. [unclear]*
[unclear]

Stockholm, Sweden,
 December 1, 1944

SUMMARY OF SWEDISH SHIPPING.

Since April 4, 1940 the Swedish merchant marine has been divided into two parts, viz. the tonnage engaged outside the blockaded Swedish zone and the tonnage operating between Swedish and foreign ports within the blockaded zone, consisting of the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. The survey is concerned with shipping in the Baltic and the North Sea traffic. According to available figures approximately 80 steam and motor ships totalling 400,000 gross register tons and 600 auxiliary sailing vessels with auxiliary propulsion engine totalling 20,000 gross register tons are engaged in the trade between Swedish and foreign ports. In these figures are not included the so-called "safe countries" steamers, numbering about 50, which are engaged exclusively in trade between Sweden and ports located outside the blockaded zone whose aggregate tonnage amounts to about 140,000 gross register tons. In the construction trade between Swedish ports smaller vessels are generally employed. In this traffic there are engaged 400 steam and motor vessels totalling 60,000 gross register tons. The steamship tonnage used in the trade between Swedish and foreign ports within the Baltic zone is roughly divided according to the size of ships into the following groups:

Range	Number of Steamships
500 - 1,000 tons	50
1,100 - 1,500 tons	50
1,600 - 2,000 tons	50
2,100 - 2,500 tons	70
2,600 - 3,000 tons	20
3,100 - 4,000 tons	10
4,100 - 5,000 tons	10
Total	300

The aggregate losses sustained by the Swedish merchant marine during the war period up to October 31, 1944 amounted to 144 ships representing 430,000 gross register tons. The greatest losses occurred in 1940 when 53 vessels totalling 120,000 gross register tons were sunk. In addition to the above, 30 ships amounting to 60,000 gross register tons have been confiscated and seized. Unfortunately these losses involved many casualties. To date 50 persons have lost their lives, including 200 sailors. During the years 1940-1944 the Swedish losses of merchant ships owing to the war totalled 200,000 gross register tons.

Obviously the exports of Swedish ore are of the greatest interest, as this item quantitatively is the chief Swedish export item. Exports during the first eight months of 1944 amounted to approximately 6,000,000 tons. Luleå is the principal port of shipment. It is the most suitable for prompt handling as that port is equipped with six loading docks having a capacity of 700 tons per hour. One of these docks is used chiefly during the winter months and regularly for mines located in central Sweden in the provinces of Dalarna, Västmanland, etc. The shipping season for Luleå extends from about the

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not respected the Convention of the Hague, and they have taken away from us the protection, the responsibility and the freedom of our Constitution guaranteed to us. They have done away with the people's rights of free speech and of self-determination. They have constantly violated the law, by illegal dismissals, imprisonment without law and judgment, deportation, house searches, torture, executions.

When the war is over these acts of injustice will have to be put right as far as possible. Towards those who have practiced atrocities and injustices a radical settlement is necessary, so that our own -- and other peoples, feel convinced that justice exists. We may all be jointly responsible for how this settlement shall be administered, whether it shall be in legal forms, or by taking the law in our own hands and inflicting revenge.

Much of our fight in this period has been to protect law and justice. Now that our sentiment of justice has been violated time and again, we have learnt to understand what a state of law really means. This fight for law and justice we must carry on to the end, even in our own hearts. One often hears good patriotic Norwegians say: "We must take the law in our own hands, and settle the N.S. problem quickly. We shall let the laws sleep for 24 hours, and effect a quick and drastic settlement. Legal procedure would be too expensive and too lax."

All thinking Norwegian men and women must combat such ideas. We must not confound thirst for revenge with glowing patriotic sentiment. If we ourselves violate our own laws, we are no better than those we are fighting against, for in that case we have adopted their methods. Then the Nazis have in reality conquered us from inside, in our own hearts, we have become like them. And of what use is then a military victory which others have won for us? Should we perhaps in a night break down what our fathers have built up through generations? But one can use this time for collecting evidence so that one can procure proofs of treachery and atrocities. But we must have patience to let justice have its course. The moment the power of the Germans and N.S. is broken we must all do what we can, so that the principles of our Constitution can come into force immediately. If we succeed in that we prove to the whole world that Norway has not lost its soul in this war.

To those who feel anxious that the punishment will be too mild if it is effected in legal forms, we may point out the fearless conduct of the Supreme Court and the pretence of the lawyers. These actions prove such a fearless patriotic mind among the legal profession that one need not be afraid of sentimental clemency when it comes to meting out punishment of treachery and acts of violence. Even our regular laws gave us a legal base for punishing these. In addition there has in London in January 1941 been passed national as well as international agreements to guarantee an adequate settlement.

We all wish to build a new and better society. We who now greatly understand what law and justice mean, because we have not injustice on our bodies, how could we lay the foundation of our new society by violating our own laws? No, let us make our motto one of the oldest sentences written in Norway's language. The first words of the old Norse laws: "With law shall law be built and not with unlaw wanted."

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... pushed at personal times, this especially springs from the fact that we have got a costly spiritual inheritance which we all feel that we have got to protect. One of the most precious jewels of this inheritance is our Constitution.

The Norwegian Constitution of 1814 was born in a happy hour, but in a time of hardship, through patriotic and wise men, as a result of the work and longing of generations. It is built on a thousand year tradition as a society of free farmers, with rich impulses from the ideals of man's rights of the American war of independence and the French Revolution. It says many other things: "No one can be judged except according to law... No one punished except according to judgment... Torture must not take place... No law must be given back-working power.... No one must be imprisoned except in lawful cases and under observation of the forms prescribed by law.... The people exercise legislative power by the Storting.... Entitled to vote are Norwegian citizens, men and women over 23.... Freedom of press must take place.... Frank speech on the government and may be subject is permitted to everybody.... Noase inquiries must not be taken except in criminal cases."

Thus our constitution gives us protection against any infringement of justice, it gives each one of us through the right of voting responsibility for the government of our state and the development of our people. It gives every individual and the whole people freedom to spiritual growth.

We are one of the very few peoples who have through generations been allowed to possess such a wonderful charter of our rights and duties. We have even through a period of 135 years been allowed to develop under the protection, in the freedom and responsibility of our Constitution. We had in this been able to build a popular education, on a broad base, to build social institutions and to create a willingness to international cooperation which have made us a pioneer people.

An important international law, the Convention of the Hague of 1907 contains the agreement on the relation between countries in time of war. §43 says that when a country has been occupied the occupant shall do all he can to reestablish public order and public life. "Hereby the occupant shall respect the laws of the country, unless absolute obstacles. (Our laws must be absolute)." Both Norway and Germany have signed that Convention. Thus we should now have been allowed to live under our own laws, with our own elected representatives, with our own administrators and civil servants, a.s.o., only with the limitations which would be absolutely necessary to Germany's military interests. For, having signed the Convention of the Hague, we as an occupied people taken upon us certain duties towards the Germans. As a law-abiding people we should have observed these duties when they were explained to us.

At the Germans and their willing tools, the N.S., have

not

It was very interesting to see the reactions of different people facing this problem. On the whole one can say that many of those who had suffered most did not demand revenge in a spirit of revenge. As one has not control of the lives of executed persons any more there is no bitterness or desire for revenge in their hearts. And even men who had received their death sentences and were waiting for execution have not cut off their last greeting to the Norwegian people that they were happy to sacrifice their lives for their country and did not want revenge for their sake.

Those who were most strongly demanding revenge were often people who had not suffered directly themselves, but had seen the sufferings of others at close hand, for instance, doctors, lawyers, policemen, prisoners, prisoners who have fallen prisoners to be cruelly treated. And of course the primitive wish for revenge may still be strong in anybody, when the national instincts are too severely hurt.

On the whole there has been a wonderful inner growth in Norwegian minds. They started wanting primitive revenge, now they want legal procedure of justice. They looked upon the German violators and the Norwegian traitors in blind hatred, they look upon them now and more like criminals, lunatics or neglected children. You do not hate that kind of person, you take them as a very serious social problem. If there is any possibility of improving some of them that is good. Otherwise they will have to be isolated and effectively protected from doing harm to others.

Norwegians are wondering whether a similar development has taken place in public opinion in other occupied countries. If that is not the case, would it not be possible to turn up a propaganda in this spirit: "Let us show the world that we are the superiors of the violators from the Axis powers. We can show it by national self-respect, i.e. by respecting our own laws."

We add an appeal sent out to the Norwegian people in the spring of 1942. It will give you an idea of the standard of the Norwegian secret press:

"Germans who have got a well founded impression of Norwegian conditions have been heard to say that they understand the Norwegian fight in these days, for they have got something to defend." In this fight prominent men with great insight and strong feeling of responsibility have given the lead: the Rector of the University, the Supreme Court of Justice, the bishops. These have been followed by clergymen, teachers, doctors, lawyers and many others with higher education. But now is still more: even the great majority of the people have joined, as is proved by the action of the members of sports and athletic unions, the reaction of the workers and the parents' protest against the Nazi youth service.

When the whole people thus has taken an active part and

not

This primitive form of sentiment of justice which demanded punishment in a spirit of revenge was so widespread that even at that time it would be looked upon as lacking in national sentiment. Of course there were a few people who felt otherwise, but they were so few and feelings were so high that it was useless, even suspicious to say so.

After a year of occupation quite a number of people began saying: "Would it not be right to establish the state of law the moment the Germans have been defeated? Is it not necessary for us to look forward to a period of lynching?" If you started to propagate these ideas, people would either think you were lacking in patriotic feeling or so short-sighted and sentimental that you were not honest. But more minds were open to the idea. Not from October 1941 a well founded reasoning and argumentation for this view was spread, and in the course of a year the majority of Norwegians have changed their views and want a movement in legal form. All agree that the punishment has to be hard and drastic but in legal form. It was a tremendous help for the propagation of these ideas when one learnt about two agreements issued in London in January 1942. The first one was the agreement of 18th of January between representatives of the governments of eight German-occupied countries and the Free France in which is said: ".....as international solidarity is necessary to prevent that these atrocities (violations) should be committed thereby that the people rise to take revenge... and in order to satisfy the sentiment of justice of the civilized world....the signing representatives of (these) governments will place among their chief aims of war the punishment through the legal apparatus of justice of those who are guilty of or responsible for these war crimes, whether they have committed them, given orders or helped." The other one was a Norwegian provisional enactment of 22nd of January, 1942, which among other things decides that the mere membership of N.M. will automatically lead to the loss of "public confidence" which is defined as an extended loss of the rights of citizenship. Besides there are made very severe additions to the penal code bearing upon the punishment of traitors and war criminals.

This work of enlightenment has been carried out without any of the usual technical means of propaganda, and still it has changed Norwegian public opinion in less than a year. Among the refugees one could register the growth in this view from month to month. Of course it is not possible now to give any idea of how such a propaganda works technically. But knowledge of the argumentation may well be spread.

The best way was to appeal to the national pride and self-respect. "Our fight under occupation has to a great extent been to defend our own laws. Should we really forget that, the moment we are masters in our own country? As it is now, we stand for law and justice, the German and Norwegian Nazis violate them. Let us show the world that we are superior to them. If we violate our own laws the moment we are free, Nazism has in reality won over us, we have become like the Nazis, Nazism has conquered us inwardly in our own hearts." To the more primitive mind the following arguing seemed more attractive: "If you put your knife in your pet Quisling, you are a criminal according to Norwegian law, and you will never be able to boast of it. Will it not be nicer to face him in the court of justice bringing in all the evidence you have been able to gather about his treacherous ways?"

IT POSSIBLE TO CREATE AN ENLIGHTENED PUBLIC OPINION
UNDER NAZI TYRANNY NORWAY AFTERWARDS.

In the 6th of April 1940 all the big Norwegian towns were seized by the Germans, and from that day on all the big papers were under Nazi control, and as the German Government censored all the smaller local papers suffered the same fate. But people still had their wireless sets and were able to listen to transmissions from abroad, even if it was frowned upon by the Germans who even tried to disturb the possibility of listening. Thus the lack of a free press was not felt so acutely by the population.

But in August-September 1941, during a state of emergency, the Norwegian people were forced to give up their wireless sets. To most people this was a very hard blow at the moment. But it turned out to be a blessing in disguise. Somehow or other the people who take an interest in it can always manage to get the necessary military news from abroad. The "rumors" of internal news are astonishingly complete and reliable. All the work of the wireless has taken away from the Nazis an important means of influencing the population, - of course there were still a number of people who had no short-wave and who would listen in on Oslo Nazi transmissions for lack of anything else. But, above all, the lack of the radio has given the Norwegian people time and leisure for inner consolidation and constructive thought. The people has found out it can stand on its own feet, and follow its own straight course in its weapon-fight for freedom, irrespective of outward circumstances.

One of the most interesting traits in this period has been the possibility of forming and influencing public opinion. I will take one example to show how it has been possible even to completely change the view on one special future problem, how to deal with N.S. (Nasjonal Samling, the Quisling party) when the war is over.

When Norway was attacked N.S. treacherously joined the Germans and became his errand-boys with the special task of re-occupying Norway on Nazi principles. This party probably had about 30,000 members i.e. one per cent of the Norwegian population, but with the powers of German bayonets behind them they have been able to put themselves in almost all key positions in political, economic and cultural life and in central and local administration.

The general reaction in Norway of course was one of indignation and hatred, and the Quislings were even more hated than the Germans. And as it turned out that none of these talked about Norwegian or international laws, the innocent people were imprisoned and kept in concentration camps, that were run by the Gestapo and by the Quisling police as models. They had learnt it, the flood of hatred grew, and people enjoyed picturing in detail to themselves and others how they should take revenge. Typical conversation in the camps was: "This one belongs to the National Trust." - "That is where Quisling is going to hang." Most Norwegians, even the most serious-minded, agreed that we had a few weeks of a week, or two or three days or at least a few hours to solve the N.S. problem within our own ranks. Many patriots had a put Quisling whom they wanted to cut into thin slices. Legal procedure against these traitors seemed too slow. They would have to suffer as they had inflicted suffering on others. It would be the only way of protecting our society against the influence of these people in the future.

THE